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A
COMPENDIUM
OF THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE
REIGN OF GEORGE I.

~~~~~  
BY  
JOHN LAWLESS, Esq.  
PROPRIETOR AND EDITOR OF THE IRISHMAN,  
PUBLISHED IN BELFAST.

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*Historia est temporum testis, lux veritatis, magistra vitæ, vita memoriæ,
et nuncia antiquitatis.—CICERO.*

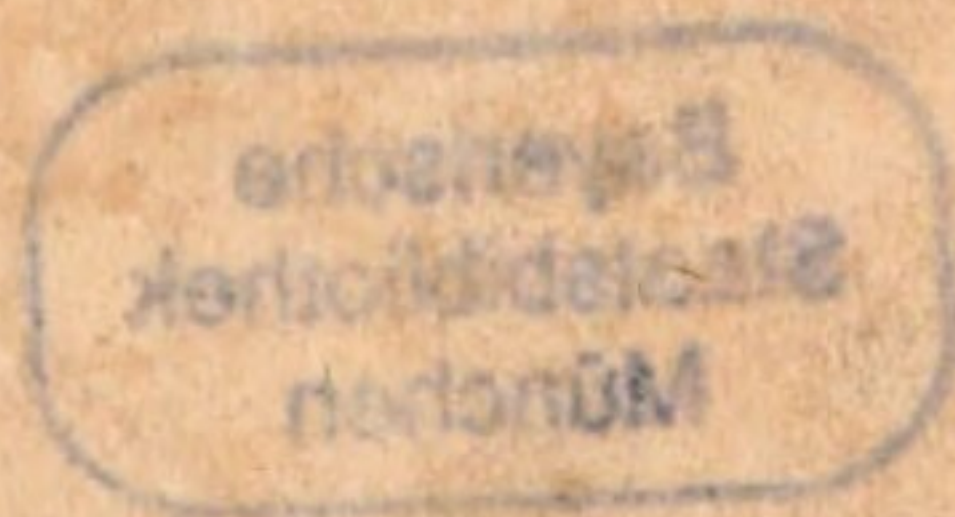
*History is the witness of times past, the light of truth, the mistress of
life, the life of memory, and the herald of antiquity.*

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1823.



COMPENDIUM

HISTORY OF IRELAND

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE I.

BY JOHN LAWLESS, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES. THE FIRST

PUBLISHED BY J. JOHNSON

THE HISTORY OF

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1721

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CONTENTS

OF

VOL. II.

	Page
<i>Reign of James I.</i>	1
———— <i>Charles I.</i>	23
<i>Commonwealth</i>	125
<i>Reign of Charles II.</i>	158
———— <i>James II.</i>	197
———— <i>William and Mary,</i>	272
———— <i>Anne</i>	311

CONTENTS

PREFACE

VOL. II

176	Notes of James I.
1	
23	
123	
158	Notes of James II.
157	
273	
311	

THE

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

JAMES I.

A. D. 1603. NOTWITHSTANDING the calamities which the people of Ireland had suffered for their fidelity to their religion, we have still to witness the existence of a spirit, which no persecution, short of annihilation, seemed wholly able to extinguish. On the death of Elizabeth, a gleam of hope animated the bosom of Ireland, and the character and policy of the queen's successors, gave her some reasonable grounds for supposing that the sword would be sheathed, and that her ancient religion would no longer be a subject of reproach, or of penalty. Foreign powers took advantage of the interval of peace which the death of Elizabeth bestowed upon Ireland; and to the industry with which they inculcated the principles of unappeasable hostility to the doctrines of the reformation,

may be attributed a great portion of that jealousy and hatred entertained by James and his counselors against the catholics of Ireland. The extirpation of the catholic and his religion, was considered as the only mode of securing the power of England against the perpetual experiments of foreign powers. Mountjoy, therefore, marched into the south of Ireland, determined to extinguish the rising spirit of insurrection: Cashel, Clonmel, Limerick, which had declared for the free and public exercise of catholicity, submitted to the discretion of the deputy. The public heart was now so completely broken down, that the government of James conceived it a proper season to allay the jealousies and apprehensions of the Irish, by freeing them from the dreadful vengeance of those laws which had been so lately violated. For this purpose, an act of oblivion and indemnity was proclaimed throughout the country; all offences committed against the crown, committed at any time before the king's accession, were pardoned, and the whole body of the Irish yeomanry were received into his majesty's most gracious protection. This was the last act of Mountjoy's administration. Soon after, he returned to England, accompanied by the Earl of Tyrone and Roderic O'Donnell. They were both graciously received by the king, who confirmed Tyrone in all the honours of his house. The extension of English law, and the establishment of public justice followed the restoration of public peace; and, if we are to credit the authority of Sir John Davis (one of the itinerant judges who visit-

ed the province of Ulster), the common people experienced great comfort from the overthrow of that petty oppression under which they had been accustomed to live.

Sir Arthur Chichester succeeded Lord Mountjoy, as governor of Ireland ; and in his government we find the work of reformation advancing with rapid strides. He suppressed the sept of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, and converted their territory into an English county ; he established courts of justice in Connaught, and restored the circuit of Munster ; he abolished the old Irish customs of tanistry and gavelkind. Irish estates were made descendable according to the course of the common law of England. The Brehon jurisdiction was set aside,* and the native Irish were admitted to all the privileges of English law. The impartial dispensation of justice conciliated the affections of

* By the Brehon law or custom, every crime, however enormous, was punished, not with death, but by a fine, or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Murder, according to the best authorities, was a crime particularly excepted, as one for which nothing short of the forfeiture of the offender's life could make atonement. The customs of gavelkind and tanistry were attended with the same absurdities in the distribution of property. Upon the death of any person, his land, by the custom of gavelkind, was divided among all the males of the sept or family, both bastard and legitimate ; and after partition made, if any of the sept died, his portion was not shared out among his sons ; but the chieftain, at his discretion, made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave every one his share. As no man, by reason of this custom, enjoyed the fixed property of any land, —to build, to plant, to inclose, to cultivate, to improve, would have been so much lost labour.

the people, who had so long suffered under the tumultuous violence of the Irish chieftains. The next important measure adopted by James, was the settlement of property, correctly ascertaining the rights of individuals. For this purpose, a commission of grace was issued under the great seal of England, for securing the subjects of Ireland against all claims of the crown. From various motives, from fear of the past, and from apprehension of the future, to guard against the vengeance of the crown, as well as to improve their tenure for life, to an estate in fee, numbers surrendered their lands, and received them back again as the tenants of the crown. The poorer classes of the community were protected against the exaction of their landlords, by the certainty of an annual rent, beyond which the landlord could not advance his claim. Just regulations gave every man a valuable interest in the lands of which he was the master; and building, planting, cultivation, and civilization, were their immediate fruits. The towns soon followed the example of the country, and new charters, granting new privileges, were liberally substituted for the old discouraging charters under which they had heretofore exercised their power. The benefit which would have flowed to Ireland from that mild and conciliating system upon which the servants of James had hitherto acted, would soon have obliterated the remembrance of all that violence of which we have given an account, were it not that the virulence of religious animosity was doomed to succeed to the desolation of the sword,

and the bigotry of the monarch against the ancient religion of Ireland, to the hostility of his country against her rights, her independence and character. It was reasonable that the Irish people should have flattered themselves with protection from that monarch who had so often made professions of his attachment to the head of their religion; but when he came to the throne, he had to consult the prejudices of the puritans of England—at this period the most powerful religious party in his dominions. James, therefore, issued his proclamations against the catholics; he commanded all Jesuits to leave the kingdom, unless they conformed to the established religion.

Such violent proceedings excited the apprehensions of all the old English catholic families of the pale, who immediately determined on presenting a remonstrance to the monarch. Their petition was answered by the arrest of Sir Patrick Barnwall, who was soon after sent a prisoner into England. The boldness with which the catholics demanded the toleration of their religion, encouraged the circulation of the rumour that a conspiracy was forming by the principal Irish chieftains, Tyrone and Tyrconnell, to seize upon the Irish government, and assassinate the deputy and his council. The interest of both Tyrone* and Tyrconnell were so opposed to any plan of this kind, their reconcile-

* Tyrone was at this time so closely looked after, that he was heard to complain, "that he had so many eyes watching over him, as that he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertised thereof in a few hours."—*Sir John Davis' History.*

ment with the English government so complete, and their restoration to their ancient honours and estates so well established, that the most impartial historians have concluded, that such a conspiracy only had existence in the minds of those who contemplated new confiscations of Irish property. The plan had the desired effect; both Tyrone and Tyrconnell felt that it would be an idle display of courage to confront their enemies, or to demand justice from that power which appeared to be the secret instrument of the confederacy against their lives and properties. They therefore fled to the continent, and abandoned their vast possessions to the disposal of the crown.* The greatest and most valuable parts of Ulster escheated to the crown; and James was then put in possession of a country into which he might introduce the principle and the practice of English laws. A petty insurrection of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty gave new pretexts to the enemies of the Irish, to extend their plans of confiscation; and six northern counties, Tyrconnell, now called Donegall, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh, amounting to about five hundred thousand acres, were now at the disposal of the English monarch. "James," says Mr Leland, "who affected to derive his glory from the arts of peace, resolved to dispose of those lands in such a

* Tyrone fled privately into Normandy, in 1607, thence to Flanders, and thence to Rome, where he lived on the pope's allowance, became blind, and died in the year 1616; his son was some years after found strangled in his bed at Brussels, and so ended his race.—*Borlase's Reduction of Ireland.*

manner, as might introduce all the happy consequences of peace and cultivation; the experience of ages bears the most honourable testimony to the design; and Ireland must gratefully acknowledge, that here were the first foundations laid of its affluence and security." Such are the observations of an Irishman, after relating the calamities endured by the devoted people of the north, who were banished from their properties, and sacrificed to the ambition or the avarice of English adventurers.* The lapse of two hundred years has given to the north of Ireland the advantage of encouraged industry; but it is impossible, even at this distant period, not to contemplate, with the most indignant feelings, the infamous means by which the native Irish were plundered of their property and their privileges. James brought together his most celebrated counsellors, to advise with him on the new distribution and division of the confiscated lands of Ireland. Sir Arthur Chichester was the principal

* It has been said by some historians of the pale, that many of the catholic natives were permitted to settle on these plantations, and even to purchase some part of them; but it appears from the testimony of Sir Thomas Philips (an unquestionable authority in the estimation of the Anti-Irish historians), that "the fundamental ground of this plantation was the avoiding of natives, and the planting only with British." The O'Farrels of the county of Longford, in their remonstrance, November 10, 1641, set forth, that "the restraint of purchase in *the mere Irish*, of lands in the escheated counties, and the taint and blemish of them and their posterity, did more discontent then, than that plantation rule; for that they were brought to that extreme of poverty in these late times, that they must be sellers and not buyers of land."—*Borlase's Irish Rebellion.*

anatomist on this occasion, and, aided by the illustrious Lord Bacon, we find him recommending the Scotch and the English to the special favour of his sovereign. The Irish were to be particularly excepted from the list of those who were to be the future proprietors in the north of Ireland. The scheme adopted in the distribution of the lands of Ulster was different from that which had been acted upon by Elizabeth in Munster; they were divided into different proportions, the greatest to consist of two thousand English acres, the least of one thousand, and the middle of fifteen hundred. The regulations by which James distributed the lands of Ireland among his English and Scotch subjects, were such as were calculated to give security and encouragement to the possessor. They were bound to build and to plant, they were to let their lands at determined rents, and for no less term than twenty-one years, or three lives, the tenants' houses to be built after the English fashion; and, in all their customs and habits, they were obliged to assimilate as close as possible to those of the country from whence they came. The city of London took a leading part in the settlement of Ulster; they accepted large grants in the county of Derry, they stipulated to expend twenty thousand pounds on the plantations, to build the cities of Derry and Coleraine, on the condition of enjoying such privileges as would insure them comfort and respectability. Care was taken by James that the clergy should be provided for, the churches rebuilt, and funds established for their preservation. Such was the foundation on which

the north of Ireland has risen to its present flourishing condition; and, as in other great revolutions, we no longer reflect on the sufferings of the ancient inhabitants, when contemplating the wealth and happiness of those who have succeeded them. The work of plantation was so prolific a source of aggrandizement to English adventurers, that the reader should not be surprised to see every expedient, which the confusion of past times could offer to avarice and to ambition, adopted to multiply new confiscations and new revolutions of property. In the turbulence of rebellion, lands were industriously concealed and detained from the crown; old records were explored, and such concealments were detected. The old possessors were obliged to abandon their lands, or to compound for their retention. Such services towards the British monarch, and such practices towards Ireland, obtained for Sir Arthur Chichester the lordship of Innishowen, the extensive territory of O'Dogherty. The pains and penalties of recusancy were inflicted with rigour, and the taking of the oath of supremacy was the essential and necessary qualification of every Irishman, who wished to enjoy either an office of honour or emolument. Without the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, the magistrate might be deprived of his commission, and the lawyer stripped of his robe. Mr Leland observes, "that the indolence and acquiescence to which the errors of popery reduce the mind, added to the shame of deserting their communion, seem to have kept back these men from any advances towards

conformity." We must confess we would rather attribute the obstinacy of the Irish gentlemen on this occasion, the magistrate, or the lawyer, to the conscientious sense of the obligations they owed to that religion which they were instructed to believe was the best. We should suppose that their obstinacy was the offspring of an honest conviction of the truth of the principle to which they clung, and not the base and interested progeny of pride, folly, or custom. If Mr Leland was to be deprived of his rights, because he refused acknowledging the supremacy of the pope, we should not consider it a very liberal conjecture that Mr Leland refused the oath from obstinacy rather than from principle. Such a feeling could never endure very long. In an individual, the pride of an insulted mind may be found to resist the united efforts of force and fraud ; but in the mind of a nation, the sentiment must have a broader foundation ; it must be the conviction of the truth of the principle to which it adheres, and not a passive obedience to custom or to fashion.

Chichester, having witnessed the progress of discontent with considerable apprehension for the security of his government, determined on convening a parliament. Twenty-seven years had elapsed since any parliament was held in this kingdom, in consequence of the extraordinary revolution which had taken place in the state and circumstances of Ireland. The new parliament promised to be a more faithful representative of all its mixed inhabitants than any which had hitherto preceded it.

Seventeen new counties, and a great number of newly created boroughs, were to be added to the general representation. The convening of this parliament, in 1612, alarmed the minds of the Irish. From the new arrangements, the creation of counties and boroughs, the influence of the government was supposed to be increased to an alarming extent. The Roman catholics suspected the integrity of Chichester's design in calling a parliament; and their principal leaders, men of distinguished consequence in the pale, Lords Gormanston, Slane, Killeen, Trimblestown, Dunsaney, and Louth, addressed a letter to the king, in which they boldly remonstrated against the calling of the parliament. This letter being considered by James as too bold in its language, was contumeliously rejected. The trade of parliament went on; the boroughs were multiplied to forty; the recusants, or, in other words, the independent Irish party, rallied their friends; the clergy co-operated in stimulating the people to a vigorous effort against farther innovations, and every hand and every heart were engaged in the grand contest for the rights and privileges of Irishmen. The catholic lawyers displayed unprecedented activity, and, notwithstanding the exertions of government, succeeded in beating their enemies at the majority of the elections.

Notwithstanding the apparent triumphs of the country, or catholic party, the government had so managed the old and the new boroughs, that, on counting the parliamentary numbers, there appeared one hundred and twenty-five protestants, and one

hundred and one catholics.* A contest of a singular nature took place on the appointment of the speaker. Sir John Davis, the Irish attorney-general, was recommended by James. Sir John Everard, a justice of the king's bench, was the favourite of the country party. The struggle was so violent, that the party of Sir John Davis seated him in the lap of Sir John Everard, who had been previously put by his friends into the speaker's chair. The violence of parties had now so highly inflamed the public mind, that Chichester felt it necessary to endeavour to calm the rising tempest by mild and conciliating remonstrance. The puritans, inflated

* About the 18th of May 1618, the lord deputy, with all the peers of the realm, and the clergy, both bishops and archbishops, attended in scarlet robes, very sumptuously, with sound of trumpet. The Lord David Barry, Viscount Buttevant, bearing the sword of state, and the Earl of Thomond bearing the cap of maintenance; and after all these the lord deputy followed, riding upon a most stately horse, very richly trapped; himself attired in a very rich and stately robe of purple velvet, which the king's majesty had sent him, having his train borne up by eight gentlemen of worth. They rode from the castle of Dublin to the cathedral church of St Patrick, to hear divine service, and a sermon preached by the reverend father in God Charles Hampton, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of all Ireland. But as many of the nobility were catholics, they did not go into the church; neither heard divine service or sermon, notwithstanding they were lords of the parliament house, but they staid without during the time of service and sermon. Now when service was done, the lord deputy returned back to the castle, these recusant lords joining themselves again with the rest of the state, and rode to the castle, in manner as they came from thence, where the parliament was held—this was the first day of its meeting.—Desider. Cuiros. Hiber. Vol. I.

with all the hideous spirit of sectarian despotism, murmured at the policy of the deputy, and, in the genuine language of the inquisition, called for the rigid enforcement of the penal statutes to establish an obedient conformity to their religion.

The shameful multiplication of the meanest and most mercenary sycophants, by the late creation of boroughs, roused the pride and the indignation of the catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland. It was, no doubt, a painful reflection to the independent Irish mind, to have witnessed the degraded and humbled state to which their countrymen were reduced. To see a whole catholic nation, a parliament, with the exception of the immediate hirelings of government, almost all catholic; the great majority of the army catholic: to see such a power as this lorded over by a few adventuring innovators from England and Scotland, who composed the administration and filled the offices of the crown, must have greatly afflicted the heart, and roused the vengeance of a high-spirited country. The catholics boldly remonstrated with James against the indignities under which they suffered. They ordered the lords Gormanston, Fermoy, Hussey, Luttrell, and Talbot, to repair to the British monarch, and to seek the immediate redress of such intolerable grievances. It is said that James received their complaints with good temper and kindness; he agreed that commissioners should be sent into Ireland, to ascertain the justice of the Irish remonstrance. Even such a concession as this from James elevated the hopes of the catho-

lics ; and one of their delegates, Sir James Gough, triumphantly announced, on his return to Ireland, the intention of the British monarch to tolerate the catholic religion, and redress the injuries of which his Irish subjects had complained. The hypocrisy of the king was not even now discovered by the Irish catholics ; the professions of a tolerant and liberal spirit, which James so often made to Ireland, appeared to be part of his system of division and weakness. He would raise the hopes of those he wished to destroy, and promise toleration to the religion of Ireland, in order that he might the more effectually eradicate it. He summoned the Irish delegates to his counsel, and in a tone of insulting and ignorant mockery, told them that no system of government would content the Irish. “ You would,” said James, “ have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of Heaven.” Notwithstanding the practices which we have detailed, and by which his Irish subjects were so insulted and oppressed, this monarch, in the stile and spirit of a despot, thus addressed the delegates of the Irish nation.

“ In the matter of parliament, you have carried yourselves tumultuously and undutifully, and your proceedings have been rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment, which, by reason of your submission, I do forbear, but not remit till I see your dutiful carriage in this parliament, where by your obedience to the deputy and state, and your future good behaviour, you may redeem your past miscarriage, and then you

may deserve, not only pardon, but favour and cherishing."

The spirit of the country party could not be restrained by such language, even coming from the throne: and they continued the same uninterrupted opposition to every measure which trespassed on their religious or political liberty. The court and country party being nearly equal in numbers, began to see the injuries which must flow from the perpetual fire of mutual recrimination. The court ceased to practise on the feelings of the people by measures of violence, and the friends of the people gave up the rigid spirit of resistance to every recommendation of the crown. All parties now drew together in parliament, and agreed to recognise, by an express law, the king's title to the crown. They passed an act, in 1614, for the attainder of the Earls of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and Sir Cahir O'Dogherty. The old and sanguinary statutes against the native Irish, by which those within the pale were permitted to treat their devoted countrymen as spies, were repealed; and all distinctions, between the native Irish and the colonists, completely done away. For these great and comprehensive blessings, the king's treasury was speedily enriched by the gratitude of his Irish subjects. James acknowledged the liberal contributions of Ireland to the public expenditure, and pledged himself to watch over her interests with indefatigable zeal.

The next subject of importance which occupied the Irish government, was the framing a public

confession of faith for the established church of Ireland. Dr James Usher, so distinguished for his learning and talents, was selected to perform this difficult undertaking. He drew up a profession, which consisted of no less than one hundred and four articles, some of which the British sovereign was known to have dissented from; but the rigid Calvinism of Usher would compromise with no authority. The success attendant upon the great northern plantation had now encouraged James to make a similar experiment in the southern countries. He determined, therefore, to send forth his agents of discovery, who would easily establish the royal claim to all the lands, which its avarice or its despotism might think proper to possess. The political inquisition soon discovered, that all that fine tract of country between the river of Arklow and that of Slaney, was the property of the Crown; that the counties of Leitrim, Longford, and Westmeath, were either at a very early period vested in the British Crown, or forfeited by the rebellion of its inhabitants.

King James thus had to distribute among his English followers no less than four hundred thousand acres. It is not wonderful that the Irish, who were banished from their houses and their lands, whose families and whose property were thus sacrificed to the enlightened legislation of King James, should be hereafter found revenging themselves on the successors of those Englishmen who had raised fortunes on their ruins. It is not difficult to present to the imagination of the reader of sensibility,

the wide and dismal distress which the expulsion of the thousand families that covered such an extent of country, must have created. It is not difficult to conceive the heart-burnings it must have caused, and the unappeasable vengeance with which it must have filled the human bosom ; yet there are some men who will express surprise at the barbarous scenes of retaliation which we shall have to record. The man who reflects will see that they are the necessary effects of despotism, and the natural vent through which the abused and suffering heart ever looks for relief.

Sir Arthur Chichester was recalled to England before his last work of regeneration was complete. He was succeeded in his administration by Sir Oliver St John, whose conduct in parliament promised but little indulgence to the religion or conscience of Ireland. He banished the priests by proclamation ; an act of mercy, in the opinion of Mr Leland, to the poorer catholics, who were so intolerably oppressed by the clergy, an idle and factious tribe. It is strange with what fidelity the poorer catholics clung to such oppressors ; but Sir Oliver St John, whom the same historian panegyricizes for his vigour and his decision, does not stop here. He compells all magistrates to take the oath of supremacy.* The severity of such government

* All the counsellors at law that were in Ireland, who would not take the oath of supremacy, were put from pleading of causes in any of the four courts, or elsewhere, to speak for clients ; likewise such as were pensioners, that would not take the same oath, were discharged of their pensions.

called forth the remonstrances of the catholic continental powers, who were always alive to the sufferings of the Irish catholics, and whose power so often interposed to blunt the sword of persecution. Such interference had the effect of removing the English deputy, and thus rescuing the Irish from the fanatical violence of a sanguinary sectarian. The Irish people had flattered themselves, that the consequence of removing Sir Oliver St John, would have been an indulgence to their religious feelings, and that an adherence to the practice of their church, would be no longer considered incompatible with the sincerest loyalty. They therefore openly attended the duties which their religion prescribed. The reformed clergy took the alarm, and the war of intolerance commenced with increased acrimony. Doctor Usher, who was considered the head of the reformers, first drew the polemical sword ; and in a sermon, the text of which was, "he beareth not the sword in vain," he inculcated on the existing government, the necessity of strong and vigorous measures to suppress the rising confidence of the catholics.

Mr Leland, who loses no opportunity of abusing the motives and principles of his countrymen, brands the fidelity of the Irish to the religion of their ancestors, with the humiliating stigma of ignorance, obstinacy, barbarism ; an unworthy and cruel commentary on the most unexampled allegiance to those principles, which they were taught to believe were the best calculated to ensure them eternal salvation. The criminations and recri-

nations of all religious sectarians, equally excite the scorn and contempt of the philosopher. The liberal and enlightened mind will have equal reverence for the opinions and principles of one sect as of another, and will endeavour to demonstrate that the true Christian, whether protestant, presbyterian, or catholic, will be best fulfilling its duties, when he inculcates the toleration of all, undisturbed by the insulting imputations of folly, of ignorance, or of superstition. No sect of Christianity teaches immorality; no sect of Christianity professes doctrines which would not make its follower a valuable member of society; therefore, let each indulge the other, and the human mind, unrestrained by the bigot, will soon resume its strength, and throw off the oppressive incumbrance of accumulated prejudices. The scene of calamity which Ireland exhibited in 1622, and which was principally caused by the merciless prosecution of the discoveries of defective titles, is acknowledged by Mr Leland, who has so often been the panegyriker of the plantation system of James, as the infallible mode of civilizing the barbarous inhabitants of Ireland. Never has any nation so dearly purchased the blessings of civilization.

In the manuscripts of Bishop Sterne, we find, that in the small county of Longford, twenty-five of one sept were all deprived of their estates, without the least compensation, or any means of subsistence assigned them. Let the reader, (when he comes to those periods of our history in which the collected vengeance of many years of suffering,

was poured forth on the unoffending descendants of those men who took part in the legal butchery of the dearest affections of the human heart), keep in his recollection the picture we shall now give, drawn by the vindicator of the colonizers, of the agonizing distress, and the torturing despotism to which the Irish nation, under the specious pretext of civilization, were barbarously devoted.

Mr Leland, speaking of this period, observes, "it was an age of project and adventure; men's minds were particularly possessed with a passion for new discoveries, and planting of countries. They who were too poor, or too spiritless to engage in distant adventures, courted fortune in Ireland, under the pretence of improving the king's revenue, in a country where it was far less than the charge of government. They obtained commissions of inquiry into defective titles, and grants of concealed lands, and rents belonging to the crown, the great benefit of which was generally to accrue to the projector, whilst the king was contented with an inconsiderable proportion of the concealment, or a small advance of rent. Discoverers were every where busily employed in finding out flaws in men's titles to their estates. The old pipe rolls were searched to find original rents with which they had been charged; the patent rolls in the tower of London were ransacked for the ancient grants: no means of industry or devices of craft were left untried, to force the possessors to accept of new grants at an advanced rent. In the enforcement of those inquiries, there are not wanting proofs of the most iniquitous practices of hard-

ened cruelty, of vile perjury, and scandalous subornation, employed to despoil the fair and unoffending proprietor of his inheritance." But the sufferings of Irishmen did not stop there; "they either lay under odious disqualifications, or were neglected by the state in the disposal of offices of trust and emolument; they were overshadowed by new men sent from England to the king's service, whom they saw, with indignation, rising suddenly into affluence;" and the historian might have added, with honest indignation, rising into that affluence on the beggary and calamity of the native Irish.

The poverty of the Irish government was the necessary consequence of that system of rapacity and plunder, which was carried on by every unprincipled English adventurer, under its immediate patronage. Notwithstanding all James's boasted improvements, his regulations of civilization and refinement, the resources of his exchequer were daily diminishing, and the necessity of new financial expedients as rapidly increasing. Various plans of regeneration were adopted; and various artifices, as dishonest and immoral as they were shallow and unwise, were resorted to, to recruit the almost bankrupt government of the colony; the ingenuity of legal advisers was exercised in vain. It is true, a partial supply was eviscerated from the fears of the inhabitants of Connaught, whose lands were threatened to be sacrificed to a contemptible quibble of the law. Their titles to their property were pronounced defective, because the patents, under which they held their lands, happened not to be enrolled in

the proper office. This was, in the opinion of the English monarch, a sufficient justification of that revolution which he contemplated with so much enthusiasm, and by which the calamities of the Ulster plantation would have been visited upon the inhabitants of Connaught. The pressing wants of James, however, protected the Irish from this favourite experiment of plantation; and a composition of ten thousand pounds was accepted by him from the trembling landholders of Connaught. Were we to draw any parallel between the sanguinary government of Elizabeth, with the cold and unfeeling tyranny of James, we should be inclined to think, that the quantity of suffering inflicted on Ireland by the sword of the one, was less cruel than the merciless statute war of the other; that the victories of Mountjoy over Tyrone and his followers, were of a more exalted, and, of course, a more consoling nature, than the treacherous and cowardly schemes of destruction planned by the legal sophist, and acted upon by the insatiable avarice of royal rapacity. The government of Elizabeth put an end to its victim; that of James preserved it, in order to prolong its pains and triumph in its agonies. Under the mask of introducing the law and customs of a civilized and enlightened people, every species of oppression was practised; and Ireland, which could, under a mild and parental system, have enriched the hand that protected it, punished her persecutors by the incumbrance of her poverty, and the unappeasable hostility of her children.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHARLES I.

A. D. 1625. **T**HE people of Ireland now promised themselves some relaxation of that severe and rigid system, under which they had hitherto suffered. They calculated on the acknowledged necessities of Charles; his foreign wars, his conflicts with his parliament, his obvious policy in soothing the catholics of Ireland, whose power he might throw into the scale against the stubborn resistance of his puritanical subjects of England. Such considerations raised the hopes of the Irish, and, in an equal proportion, excited the apprehension of the colonists. The latter applied to Charles to increase his Irish army to five thousand foot and five hundred horse. So low was the king's exchequer in Ireland, that Charles was obliged to quarter this army on the different counties and towns. This irresistible evidence of the royal embarrass-

ments encouraged the Irish to hope for a full toleration of their religion, and a suspension of those penal statutes, by which their feelings and properties were so injured. With their brethren in England, they offered to contribute liberally to the support of Charles' government, if they would, in return, enjoy the royal protection in the exercise of their religion.

Mr Leland, speaking of the joy with which the Irish catholic contemplated the prospect of future indulgence to his long persecuted conscience, observes, with apparent approbation, "that the protestant clergy were provoked at their insolence, and scandalized at the promised concessions of government;" and the same historian triumphantly sets forth the anathema of the established colonial church, as an evidence of the pure and sacred zeal of the leading prelates of this period. We doubt much whether the records of popery can produce any document more furious in its intolerance, or more despicable in its bigotry. Those who deprecate the uncharitable principles of an exclusive doctrine, will, with indignation, read the following protest of the protestant bishops of the colony, against even the toleration of the catholic religion. They will discover the illiberality of every Christian sect which can wield the political power of the state; and they will see that the protestant, presbyterian, and catholic, are equally inclined to trample upon the rights of conscience, if the government shall lend them their authority, or give them their coun-

tenance.* “The religion of the papists,” say the Irish protestant archbishops and bishops of the seventeenth century, “is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects: for, first, it is to make ourselves accessary not only to their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies, and, in a word, to all the abominations of popery, but also (which is a consequence of the former), to the perdition of the seduced people, who perish in the deluge of the catholic apostacy; secondly, to grant them a toleration in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people whom Christ hath redeemed with his blood; and as it is a great sin, so it is also a matter of most dangerous consequence; the consideration whereof we commit to the wise and judicious, beseeching the God of truth to make them who are in authority zealous of God’s glory, and of the advancement of true religion; zealous, resolute, and

* The unbending bigotry of the protestant bishops and archbishops of Ireland, at this period, forms a curious contrast with the enlightened liberality which distinguished the catholic government of France under the administration of the great Richelieu. Mr Hume, in his reign of Charles I. says, “that a toleration was continued to the Hugonots after the taking of Rochelle; the only avowed and open toleration,” says Mr Hume, “which at that time was granted in any European kingdom.”

courageous, against all popery, superstition and idolatry."

We challenge the records of superstition to produce a higher specimen of fanaticism than that which we have just quoted ; it demonstrates how easily all sects of Christianity can recriminate on each other, and how vain the controversy which attributes to the doctrines of popery a more malignant spirit of intolerance than to those of any other Christian denomination. The followers of Christianity, in the nineteenth century, laugh at the fanaticism of their ancestors, and all classes of Christians adhere to the faith of their fathers, undisturbed by the insolence of sectarian ascendancy. The distress of Charles counterbalanced the prayers of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, and for a contribution of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, payable in three years, the British monarch promised to redress the grievances of which his Irish subjects so loudly and justly complained. We have said that Charles promised to redress their grievances, because our readers will find that the instructions communicated to his deputy in Ireland, were never confirmed by an act of the legislature, and that the immoderate wants of the king forced him to hold out hopes to his Irish subjects, as the price of that aid which their generous credulity had never yet hesitated to contribute. The graces to be conferred were therefore of the most substantial kind. The properties of the Irish were no more to be disturbed, the insulting condition of the oaths of supremacy and abjuration no longer to be en-

forced, as the necessary qualification for office ; the oppressions of the soldiery were to be restrained, and justice was to be impartially administered to all denominations of Irishmen. These promises of protection were soon forgotten, the respite of the Irish people from the persecution of fanaticism was of very short duration ; for we find soon after, a well authenticated account of a most wanton and atrocious violence on the unoffending catholic, at the moment he was engaged in the adoration of his Creator, according to the form and ceremonies of his own religion. Hammon Lestrange, one of the English adventurers who came over to Ireland to insult the nation he assisted in plundering, thus speaks of the Roman catholic clergy in the early part of his reign of Charles I.—“ In this year the Roman clergy began to rant it, and to exercise their fancies, called religion, as publicly as if they had gained a toleration.” “ The reader,” says the honest and well informed Dr Curry, “ will be surprised to find that this ranting of the catholic clergy was nothing more than their reading of prayers quietly to their people in one of their own chapels.” “ For,” proceeds the above mentioned author, Hammon Lestrange, “ while the lords justices were at Christ Church in Dublin, on St Stephen’s day, the clergy were celebrating mass in Cook-street, which their lordships taking notice of, they sent the archbishop of Dublin, the mayor, sheriffs, and recorder of the city, with a file of musketeers, to apprehend them, which they did, taking away the crucifixes and ornaments of the altar, the soldiers hewing

down the image of St Francis. The priests and friars were delivered into the hands of the pursuivants, at whom the people threw stones, and rescued them. The lords justices being informed of this, sent a guard and delivered them, and clapped eight popish aldermen by the heels for not assisting their mayor. On this account fifteen houses (chapels), by direction of the lords of the council in England, were seized to the king's use, and the priests and friars were so persecuted, that two of them," adds my liberal and enlightened author, "*hanged themselves in their own defence.*" This single fact, which never was disputed, would almost vindicate the catholics of Ireland in the commission of any violence to destroy such atrocious despotism. Few, I believe, will wonder that the populace endeavoured to rescue their priests in such an exigency; and fewer that the catholic aldermen of Dublin did not assist their mayor in this priest-catching business. This persecution was afterwards extended all over the kingdom.

The English council acquainted the justices of Ireland on this memorable occasion, "that his majesty was pleased openly and in the most gracious manner to approve and commend their ability and good service, whereby they might be sufficiently encouraged to go on with the like resolution and moderation till the work was fully done, as well in the city as in other places of the kingdom, leaving to their discretion when and where to carry a soft and tender hand;" yet Lord Clarendon, in the front of these facts, has the boldness to state,

“that during all this, and the former reign, the catholics of Ireland enjoyed an undisturbed exercise of their religion; and that even in Dublin, where the seat of the king’s chief governor was, they went as publicly and uninterruptedly to their devotions as he went to his.” It is to such authorities as Lord Clarendon may be attributed all that ignorance which Englishmen discover of the real causes of the cruel vengeance which the Irish were driven to take against their oppressors. No people are to be found in the records of history who have manifested so much patience under so much suffering, nor can any nation produce such a crowd of such exasperating causes to justify the furious excesses of their vengeance. They had to contend with the hypocrisy and avarice of unprincipled monarchs, and the blind and ignorant fanaticism of the creatures of their power.

Their loyalty and fidelity were rewarded with perpetual insult and injury, and the evidence of their attachment to the state was often the cause of new expedients to plunder, to harass, and exasperate.

The graces promised by Lord Falkland, and which amounted to an acknowledgment of the rights of the Irish, had the effect of producing a cheerful submission to the contribution so much wanted by Charles. We shall find, in the course of this reign, that to the distress of the monarch may be attributed whatever indulgence the catholics experienced; and that the necessity of counteracting the power of the English puritans, com-

pelled the ministers of Charles to conciliate the affections of a people, whose feelings and whose religion they would otherwise have persecuted. The instructions, therefore, to Lord Falkland, recommended a mild and parental exercise of authority. The religious worship of the catholics was once more celebrated with all due solemnity, and, as Mr Leland is pleased to describe, "with the full parade of their ostentatious ritual." The toleration now experienced by the catholics gave the greatest displeasure to the established church, and so excited the apprehensions of the council of the colony, that they prevailed on Falkland to depart from that moderate and indulgent course which he was pursuing, and to issue a proclamation, preventing the presumptuous exercise of all papist rites and ceremonies. This proclamation not being in accordance with the policy of the English cabinet, became a dead letter, and the catholics followed their religion without interruption. Those partial triumphs over a bigotted monopoly could not fail of developing the weakness of their ancient enemy, the cabinet of England. They therefore pressed on this weakened power the necessity of making further concessions to the people, of diminishing the unsufferable burdens under which they laboured, of ceasing to institute vexatious and torturing inquisitions into the titles of their estates. The Irish government struck to the murmurs of the people, and one half the stipulated contribution was accepted as the condition of future tranquillity.

Lord Falkland's administration, in consequence of this defalcation of the royal resources, soon incurred the charge of imbecility. He was recalled in 1630, and two lords justices, Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely, lord chancellor, and Richard, Earl of Cork, lord high treasurer, were nominated to succeed Lord Falkland in the administration of Ireland. These men were remarkable for their antipathy to every thing Irish, and their superstitious abhorrence of the catholic religion. Mr Leland bestows extravagant praise on the Earl of Cork, for the assiduity and zeal with which he executed his scheme of banishing the native Irish from their properties in the county of Wicklow, and substituting, as Mr Leland observes, "a numerous, well-regulated, and well-defended body of English protestants." The errors of popery were peculiarly offensive to this active partizan of England; and the barbarism which it promoted, was repugnant to his benevolent principles of civilization. This compliment to the character of the Earl of Cork is peculiarly ludicrous, when following the historical fact, that this same colonist banished the Irish from the lands of their forefathers, and thus most effectually created the barbarism he pretended to abhor. The same spirit which distinguished him in his private station, characterized his public acts, and the catholics were doomed to experience the extreme rigors of his intolerant bigotry. Charles, however, interfered, and suspended the sword of persecution. The wants of the king were hourly multiplying, and the necessity of adopting such measures as

would procure an effectual supply from his dominions in Ireland, determined him to commit its administration to a nobleman whose vigour and abilities would compromise with no difficulties, and listen to no remonstrance. The lords justices, whom Wentworth was about to succeed, were incapable of concurring or acting upon any great and comprehensive measure of finance. The resources of their minds were as limited as the hostility of the people to their government was determined; they could enforce the regulations of the bigot with a pious ardour; they could impose penalties upon conscience; but they could not suggest any scheme of resources, which, from its universality, could administer solid or substantial relief to the exhausted treasury of Charles. The king suspected that the lords justices had secret and disloyal practices with his protestant enemies of England; and though well inclined to exercise the most relentless tyranny over the devoted catholics, yet the hopes of forcing Charles, by their co-operation with the English parliament, to strike to their demands, slackened their zeal in the enforcement of those contributions which they might otherwise have obtained.

Lord Wentworth was ordered by his master to assume the reins of government in Ireland; and though this famed and eloquent nobleman was pursued to the block by the partizans of English liberty, yet the poor people of Ireland experienced, during his administration in Ireland, the grateful consolation of witnessing the humiliation of their most inveterate enemies. “ One great and favour-

ite scheme of Wentworth," says Mr Leland, " was to break the power of the great lords, which had frequently been applied to the worst of purposes." He therefore determined to reduce their power, as well as that of the puritans, (the bitterest enemies of the catholics.) On his first interview with the council in 1634, he treated the most exalted characters of the colony with the most insulting arrogance. He would listen to no remonstrance from them against any measure he thought contributed to promote the interests of Charles; he told them he sought their obedience to his will, not any suggestions from their council, and that without any aid from them he would procure the supplies necessary for the support of his government. He told them that he would recommend his majesty to accede to the measure of calling a meeting of parliament, if they would agree to renew their contributions for one year: the contributions were granted, and an army, formidable in numbers and in discipline, was raised under the active genius of the deputy.

The despotic disposition of Charles is singularly marked in his reply to Wentworth's communication, respecting the meeting of his Irish parliament; and his faithless and unprincipled anxiety to violate his promise to the Irish, to confirm the royal graces by act of the legislature, clearly points out the wisdom of that jealousy which distinguished the English parliament, and which never suffered them to place any confidence in the royal word. Charles writes thus to his deputy, Lord Wentworth: " As for that hydra, a parliament, take good heed, for

you know that there have I found it as well cunning as malicious ; it is true, that your grounds are well laid, and I assure you that I have great trust in your care and judgment ; yet my opinion is, that it will not be the worse for my service, though their obstinacy make you break them, for I fear that they have some ground to demand more than it is fit for me to give."

The king conquered his scruples, and trusted implicitly to the zeal and talent of his deputy in the management of the Irish parliament. Wentworth went to work with all the skill of a practical statesman. He made the hopes and fears of each party, the puritan, the church man, and the catholic, tributary to his purposes. He promised protection to the catholic, against the persecution of the puritan, and made the disposition of the latter to inflict pains and penalties, the argument by which he reasoned them into a submission to his purposes. He so managed that the house of commons should be composed of papists and protestants, equally balanced in numbers and property ; he refused, as was customary, to consult with the lords of the pale before parliament assembled ; he told them their duty was submission to the will of the king. "The king," said Wentworth to the assembled lords of the pale, "desires this great work may be settled by parliament ; as a faithful servant to his majesty, I shall counsel him to attempt it first by the ordinary means. —Disappointed there, where he may with so much right expect it, I could not, in a cause so just and necessary, deny to appear for him at the head of my

army, and there either persuade them fully that his majesty had reason on his side, or die in the pursuit of his commands so justly laid upon me." The people smiled at the humiliation of their taskmasters; the lords trembled and submitted to the deputy; they passed from the impotent tone of dictation, to the cringing sycophancy of the slave, and complied with any measure recommended by the avarice or ambition of Wentworth.

The house of lords were not quite so passive to the proud and domineering spirit of Wentworth. The Earl of Ormond resisted the insolent attempt made by an Englishman to prostrate the ancient nobility of Ireland; he refused to strike to the indelible indignity of being stripped of his sword at the door of the house of lords; he repelled the humiliating experiment with a spirit worthy of his high and exalted family, and forced Wentworth to yield to the insulted honour of an Irish nobleman. Wentworth soothed the hand he could not degrade; he took Ormond to his councils, who, at the age of twenty-four, was the confidential favourite of the deputy.

Parliament proceeded to the enactment of a number of laws, which were well calculated to promote the tranquillity of the kingdom. Among those, was one for abolishing all distinctions between the original natives and other subjects; another for adopting the most valuable of the English statutes, passed since the reign of Henry VII. As a perfect conformity to the established church, was the leading feature of Wentworth's policy; he ju-

diciously adopted such measures as were calculated to promote its success ; he built churches, and provided them with ministers, throughout the kingdom ; he was particularly attentive to the education and instruction of the clergy of the established church. His next object was the complete assimilation of the churches of England and Ireland, by establishing the English articles and canons in this latter kingdom, as the rule of doctrine and discipline. The Irish articles of religion, as compiled by Usher, were doomed to give way to those of the church of England. So great was the ascendancy of Wentworth in the convocation, that only one of its members had the spirit to resist the innovation he recommended. The deputy then proceeded to the appointment of an high commission court, formed on the model of England, with the view of being instrumental to the acquisition of more revenues to the government. Whenever he saw the opportunity of promoting the interests of Charles, he seized it with ardour ; and, to promote that interest, would not stop at the sacrifice of the industry as well as the blood of the Irish.

To Lord Wentworth is Ireland indebted for the destruction of her woollen manufacture ; which, as Mr Leland says, “ promised to increase, and might in time essentially affect the staple commodity of England.” Ireland furnished wool in great quantities, and its people could afford to vend their cloth in foreign markets on more moderate terms than the English trader. Such a prospect alarmed the loyal zeal of Wentworth, who did not long hesitate

to impose such discouragements on the woollen manufacture, as amounted almost to a complete annihilation. Wentworth, though anxious to discourage every species of industry in Ireland, which might, by possibility, clash with the interests of England, was not inattentive to the cultivation of a manufacture, which, without injury to England, might be of solid and essential service to Ireland. Wentworth himself states, in one of his letters, that he expended thirty thousand pounds in the favourite project of the establishment of the linen manufacture. He brought the flax-seed and the manufacturers from Holland, and made such regulations as laid the strong and immoveable foundation of that prosperity which has distinguished this great source of wealth and comfort to Ireland. Wentworth, in 1635, proceeded to the most summary mode of replenishing the coffers of his royal master, by the wholesale robbery of his Irish subjects: he was aware of the advantages obtained by his two predecessors in the adoption of a similar scheme. One of them, Sir Arthur Chichester, had lands bestowed upon him, which, in the year 1633, were of no less than ten thousand pounds yearly value, and the other obtained ten thousand pounds in one gift. Hoping, therefore, for the like or greater retribution, his lordship exerted himself in that business with uncommon assiduity and vigour. He procured inquisitions, upon feigned titles to estates, against many hundred years' possession. He proceeded to the western and north western counties with his commission, and the mock inquiry into the

validity of the royal title was immediately intituted. So violent a procedure roused the almost extinguished spirit of the people; and the county Galway resisted the king's title, and boldly combated the sophistry of fraud and robbery. The lawyers, who, Mr Leland says, were catholics, fearlessly exposed the infamy of the proceeding, and the unprincipled violation of the property of the subject. The jury stood between the people and the despotism of Wentworth, and so incurred the vengeance of that haughty lord, that he laid a fine of one thousand pounds upon the sheriff, brought the jurors before the castle chamber, and fined them each in the sum of four thousand pounds, sentenced them to imprisonment until it should be paid, and to acknowledge their offence in court, upon their knees: a sad and humiliating instance of the prostrate spirit of Ireland, and a lesson of most important instruction to the Irish nobility and gentry, never to lend themselves to measures which are calculated to weaken their best and most efficient support, the Irish population. The Irish lords unthinkingly co-operated with Wentworth in his struggles to break the spirit of the people; and the latter enjoyed their full measure of vengeance, in seeing those same nobles of the land trampled on in their turn. They thus disarmed the only hand which could have best defended them against the insolence of power.

The administration of Wentworth was so peculiarly obnoxious, that his warmest friends in England remonstrated with the imprudence of his zeal:

his enemies, who were numerous, triumphed in the folly of his violence, and carefully noted down the unparalleled excesses of his government. So confident was Wentworth of the favour of his royal master, that he went to London to confute the complaints of his enemies. Charles was deaf to the cries of the persecuted and insulted people of Ireland, and warmly embraced the hand which had been so often the instrument of their sufferings. Wentworth boldly set forth his services in the presence of the king and council, and insisted upon the necessity of those measures of vigour for which his enemies had reproached him. Charles gratefully acknowledged the services which Wentworth had rendered him, and called on him to persevere in the pious and profitable work of plundering and insulting his Irish subjects. It is peculiarly mortifying to read, that the very acts for which Wentworth should have lost his head, were those on the successful execution of which this despotic monarch had the hardihood to praise him. The banishment of entire families from the habitations of their fathers is considered a judicious and fruitful measure of finance; for instance, the establishment of the king's title to the ample possession of the O'Byrnes in Wicklow, produced the large sum of fifteen thousand pounds, and the persecution of the most exalted individuals in the country was often suspended by the interposition of a bribe, or the voluntary humiliation of the victim.

The catholics of Ireland, though subject to the same capricious exercise of power as the protest-

ants, found refuge at this period in that very despotism which insulted and plundered their protestant countrymen. They did not now writhe under the lash of intolerance. Though Wentworth was a tyrant, he was impartial in the exercise of his power; and the feelings of the people found some consolation in the reflection, that they were no longer the selected victims of the bigot, and that the calamity was at least as common as it was severe. Such a system produced the effects that must naturally be expected. The discontents produced by intolerance were no longer convulsing the country, and peace, order, and industry, distinguished the present period from that of any former administration; the value of lands was increased, commerce extended, the customs amounted to almost four times their former sum; the commodities exported from Ireland were twice as much in value as the foreign merchandize imported, and shipping was found to have increased one hundred fold. Such were the fruits of an administration at once distinguished by its political power and its religious tolerance, while it chained to the earth the proudest spirits of the land. It also restrained the destructive demon of fanaticism; and, from policy, not from principle, suffered every Irishman to pray in the religion and in the language followed and adopted by his forefathers. It was not the good fortune of the people of Scotland to enjoy the same tolerant administration which a concurrence of circumstances procured for the catholics of Ireland. The interests of Charles did not allow

him to make the experiments on the conscientious feelings of his Irish subjects which he was now (1630,) practising on those of his subjects of Scotland.

The fanaticism which urged the king to compel a conformity to the established religion, equally animated the bosoms of the Scotch to repel the violence of his efforts; and his proclamation, promising pardon, while it acknowledged weakness, only produced that celebrated covenant, which bound together the hitherto discordant materials of insurrection and rebellion. The puritans of the north of Ireland participated in the enthusiasm of their brethren in Scotland, and Wentworth had recourse to all the expedients of oaths and obligations to secure their allegiance to their sovereign. The difficulties of Charles had so rapidly thickened around him, and the hostility of his Scotch subjects was so inveterate and deep-rooted, that he was obliged to call to his council the only man whom he conceived best calculated to confront his enemies. Sir Thomas Wentworth was commanded to repair to England, where he was immediately advanced to the dignity of an earl, by the title of Strafford, and also created a knight of the garter. Wentworth was thus raised to the highest place in the administration of the country, and at a period when the public mind ran into the extremes of party spirit. It is not surprising, that the new Earl of Strafford should have incurred the most malignant and unappeasable vengeance of the king's enemies. He recommended a vigorous prosecution of the war against the Scotch,

as he found they could not be conciliated. The catholics of England contributed with ardour to strengthen the arm of the king; and Strafford, with all that decision which distinguished him, set off for Ireland, where he found the Irish parliament anxious to exceed even the expectations of their sovereign, and pressing forward with enthusiastic loyalty to defend him against his enemies. They profusely poured forth the supplies, and recorded, as an ordinance of the Irish legislature, that, as the kingdom had the happiness to be governed by the best of kings, so they were desirous to be accounted the best of subjects. Lords and commons joined in zealous expressions of attachment to Charles, and in a short time an army of 8000 foot and 1000 horse marched to Carrickfergus, from whence they were to proceed against the rebels of Scotland. This large force was officered by protestants: but, as Mr Leland observes, the soldiers were necessarily catholics; a circumstance highly injurious to Charles, who had to contend with the inflexible bigotry of the puritans. A new spirit now broke out in the Irish parliament. The puritanical party of the assembly was not inconsiderable; and the intrigues of the king's English enemies had succeeded in turning the tide which flowed so strongly in favour of Charles. They grew cold, and suspicious and complaining; they remonstrated against the weight of taxation, and repented of their late precipitate kindness. They put forth their grievances in all the strong and vigorous language of the English parliament, and

seemed anxious to walk in the same path which had been marked out by that spirited and able assembly. They remonstrated against the abuse of the church, the corrupt traffic of their duties, their extortions for marriages, christenings, and mortuaries,—they complained of the hardships they suffered by the practice of levying the assessments, and insisted that a more moderate and constitutional course shall hereafter be adopted. So formidable and unexpected a spirit of resistance to the wishes of the crown excited the alarms of Charles. He selected Strafford as the man best qualified to restrain it. He made him captain-general of the Irish forces, and vested him with full powers to march them into Scotland. The death of the Earl of Nottingham interrupted this arrangement, and Strafford was detained to act in conjunction with his sovereign. The Irish parliament now emulated all the violence of the parliament of England, and in their denunciations of Strafford, exhibited the same disposition to thwart and defeat all the measures of their sovereign. Those very laws for which posterity are indebted to this unfortunate nobleman, were now a subject of public complaint; such as the laws which forbade ploughing by the tail, burning corn in the straw, or tearing wool from the living sheep. Confident in their strength, the Irish commons proceeded to regulate the rate of the assessments; they resolved that no subject should be taxed for more than a tenth part of his estate, real or personal. The supplies, but a few months granted with such lavish liberality,

were thus reduced by the more severe and inflexible spirit of democracy, which directed the house of commons; and the king was so exasperated by the hollow professions of zeal which accompanied the contracted aid, that it is said he ordered the leaf to be torn from their journal, which contained their hypocritical resolutions.

The Irish commons were not to be intimidated by this thoughtless impatience of Charles. They were well aware of the growing strength of his enemies, and they now triumphed in the anticipation of sacrificing the haughty and imperious Strafford to the wounded pride of the Irish noblemen, whose consequence and weight in their country he had succeeded so well in humiliating. They cooperated with his English enemies to expose the violence of his Irish administration; to exaggerate his errors, and multiply his crimes. They furnished the materials of a remonstrance, which was presented to the English parliament, in which accusations were made, that might have easily been defended, and in which acts were denominated crimes, for which Strafford obtained their unqualified approbation. Those measures which the necessity of the times might have palliated, were now termed acts of intolerable despotism; and that very assembly which was so lately panegyrising the vigour of their governor, were now calling him to the bar of his country, for a wanton violation of public liberty, and a grievous exercise of royal authority. The Irish parliament appointed a committee to repair to the king with their remonstrance against Strafford.

Their arrival in London was hailed by the popular party ; Mr Prynne, and Sir John Clotworthy, both members of the English parliament, moved for a committee of the commons, to take into consideration the grievances of Ireland. The Irish deputies preferred laying their remonstrance before the committee, to submitting their grievances to Charles. Strafford, contrary to the admonition of his friends, confronted his enemies ; he was impeached, sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody ; he miscalculated either the power or the sincerity of the king ; he now lay at the mercy of his powerful and inveterate enemies.

Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, two puritan lords justices, without abilities or character, were appointed to the government of Ireland. These men were not more remarkable for their fanatical virulence, than they were for the meanness of their understandings ; and we shall hereafter find every act of their administration marked with those features which distinguished the character of the governors.

The English and Irish committees went on in their work of reformation, and the spirit of Charles was at last obliged to bow to the dictation of his subjects. They rose in their demands as Charles conceded ; and the royal power, which was accustomed to treat with contempt the respectful petitions of the people, was now crouching to their threats, and struggling to conciliate, by a liberal admission of their demands. The Irish were not satisfied with the mere granting the prayer of their

remonstrance; they aspired still higher, and, like their neighbours, they seized this opportunity which the king's embarrassments afforded, to extend their own power, and advance the public interests. They carefully examined into various instances of illegal practices during the administration of Strafford, and severely censured every deviation from the strict line of constitutional liberty. They submitted to the judges in 1640, a number of questions relative to the power and authority of the chief governor and privy council, in hearing and determining civil causes; the legality of monopolies, and of the punishments inflicted on those who infringed them; the legal force of proclamations or acts of state; the execution of martial law in time of peace; the jurisdiction of the exchequer, castle chamber, and other courts; the censures and severe punishments of jurors. All those grievances were laid before the judges of the land, to ascertain the legitimate powers of the government. The spirit of reform which thus distinguished the commons, was not equally conspicuous in the lords, and the friends of the royal prerogative adopted every expedient by which they could blunt the keen edge of popular intemperance. The Earl of Ormond was attached to Lord Strafford, and he prevailed on the lords to delay the answers of the judges to the queries of the commons for some months. The commons were offended at the coldness of the lords, and immediately transmitted their queries to their committee in England, ordering the latter to lay their grievances before the

English parliament, and to pray that parliament do declare the law in several particulars contained in those queries.

The Irish parliament then proceeded to the impeachment of the most distinguished partizans of Strafford ; they impeached Sir Richard Bolton, the chancellor ; Dr Bramhal, the bishop of Derry ; Sir Gerard Lowther, chief justice of the common pleas ; and Sir George Radcliffe. They charged them with exercising an illegal and tryannical government in Ireland, in conjunction with Strafford ; that they assumed a regal power over the properties, persons, and liberties of the subjects ; pronounced unjust decrees and extrajudicial opinions ; that they subverted the rights of parliament, and the ancient course of parliamentary proceedings. The Irish lords were little inclined to yield to the violence of the commons ; they started objections of delay and difficulty ; they denied the power of sequestrating, and committing the speaker of the lords ; they insisted that it was sufficient that their house was answerable for the forthcoming of the chancellor, and that the latter could not be committed as long as he was suffered by the sovereign to hold the seals. This contest between the two houses was, after much discussion, suspended by a prorogation. In the interim the enemies of Strafford hurried on his trial in England, and the act of attainder passed against this unhappy lord. The consequences of these struggles between the Irish parliament and the king, were peculiarly visible in the pure administration of justice, and the extinc-

tion of the oppressive jurisdictions of the high commission courts, which sacrificed the rights and the properties of the subject. The judges in the law courts no longer decided against the law of the land; the people were respected, and the powers of the crown restrained within legal and constitutional limits. Charles being hard pressed by his present difficulties, unable to extend his protection even to the most zealous of his servants, sought refuge in conceding to that prayer which he no longer had the power to refuse. He agreed to redress the grievances contained in the remonstrance of the Irish parliament, and to surrender those powers which his predecessors had exercised with impunity. The concessions obtained on this occasion, by the indefatigable spirit of parliament, are worthy of record; because, in a brief and comprehensive sentence, they exhibit the rapid strides made by popular spirit, and the low degree of humiliation to which a monarch, almost unlimited in power, was reduced in the short space of a few months. Charles was obliged to consent that the assessment of the nobility should be moderated; he agreed to confirm their rights and privileges by act of parliament; to deprive those peers of their votes who should not purchase estates in Ireland; to allow all his Irish subjects to repair to any part of his dominions without restraint; to prohibit the chief governors and privy council from deciding property or avoiding letters patent; to revoke monopolies; to suspend the high commission court, and to regulate the claims and the councils of the

clergy. Thus are the liberties of the people the offspring of royal embarrassment, and the same power which tramples with insolence on the rights and feelings of humanity, is always seen in every country to yield, with cowardly precipitance, to the well directed resistance of the public mind. The administration of Lord Strafford strained the royal prerogative to its utmost limits. The times in which he lived gave birth to a new spirit of reformation in religion as well as in politics, and the oscillating disposition of Charles gave confidence to his enemies, while it discouraged the efforts of his friends. Neither he nor his advisers possessed sufficient judgment to direct the vessel of the state in so unprecedented a storm ; his religious bigotry inflamed the hostility of the puritan, and his undecided, and sometimes insincere protection, shook the confidence of the catholics.

Notwithstanding the spirit of conciliation manifested by Charles towards his Irish parliament, the latter did not merely rely on the promises of their sovereign for the possession of those constitutional rights which they so firmly asserted. Nothing less than a legislative declaration of their right to the claims which they demanded, would satisfy those suspicious and stern defenders of public liberty. They determined to be no longer depending on the will of the king for the enjoyment of the equal and impartial dispensation of justice, and proceeded to mark out and prescribe the exact limits of his authority, out of which *even he* could not legally travel. The session of the succeeding year (1641)

echoed the spirit of that which preceded it, and the celebrated queries which were put to the judges, and by which the constitutional rights of the subject could be clearly ascertained, were resumed, with increased ardour, by the partizans of the people. The judges for some time struggled to evade satisfactory answers to the questions which were put; and at length a celebrated lawyer of the day, Patrick Darcy, who had smarted under the severity of unrestricted power, was appointed prolocutor by the commons, to confer with the lords, to explain the reasons of the several questions proposed for the opinions of the judges, and the insufficiency of the answers which the latter thought proper to return. The discussion was closed by a solemn determination of the house of commons, on every separate article; in which the rights of Irish subjects were stated and affirmed with strength and precision, and all the powers assumed by the late administration, all irregular and illegal practices introduced by public concessions, and sanctified by custom, were condemned explicitly and severely. The proceedings of this parliament, though they were distinguished by a laudable and anxious zeal for the assertion of popular rights, yet in almost every instance, exhibited that marked and decided hostility to the native Irish, which contributed to produce the miserable vengeance that followed. When the member of parliament declaimed on the blessings of liberty, he was confining that blessing to the little contracted circle of the pale, and estimated its security by the success with which he established

its monopoly. Heated with all the puritanical fanaticism of their neighbours, the majority of the Irish parliament were more impelled by their anxiety to degrade the monarch and the established church, than they were by the more liberal and generous attachment to public liberty. To posterity it is immaterial what causes may have combined to produce that system of freedom under which it is their good fortune to live. The zeal of the fanatic, the oppression of power, the general passion for reformation, which at this period ran through all ranks and classes of the British empire, the errors of governors, and the wisdom of the popular leaders, all contributed to the humiliation of that formidable prerogative which arbitrarily disposed of the lives and properties of the people.

It would not be supposed that 1641, the year most distinguished by the extension of popular privilege, and the restriction of regal authority, should be the year most remarkable in Ireland for the magnitude of a conspiracy, to effect the separation of the countries, and completely extirpate that power, which, for five hundred years, had exercised a cruel and precarious dominion over the lives and the liberties of the native inhabitants of Ireland. The reader of the insurrection of 1641, should always carry in his mind that the native Irish had never yet enjoyed any portion of that liberty, for which the inhabitants of the pale had so long struggled. They were the eternal victims of colonial prejudice and suspicion: whatever of power the colony was suffered to exercise by the English govern-

ment, was exerted to goad and distract and plunder the devoted native inhabitants of Ireland. To the latter, the unlimited authority of the Sovereign was often their best and most certain refuge from the persecution of their invaders. To civilize the Irish, and to plunder and confiscate their properties, were often synonymous; and the insatiate fury of avarice was often sharpened by the relentless spirit of fanaticism. The intolerance of the puritan represented extermination as an act of religious duty; and the fidelity of the native Irish to the faith of their fathers, was considered by the plunderers of their property, as a sufficient ground for accusation against the people, and ample justification of their own barbarity. We have witnessed the merciless revolution of property in the successive plantations of Elizabeth and James; we have seen whole families driven from their habitations, provinces depopulated, and the most revered and distinguished among the native Irish, reduced to the humblest and most degraded stations in society. At the period which we are now writing, a new spirit arose, which threatened to increase the sufferings, and to add to the persecutions of the Irish. Their loyalty to their king rendered them objects of hatred to those who determined to destroy him. The puritans of England, inflamed with an enthusiastic hatred of the catholic religion, determined to make Ireland, which was the scene of its triumphs, also the scene of its sufferings. To humble their monarch, it was necessary they should deprive him of that support, which the

Irish catholics had ever given to the power to which they had sworn allegiance. They, therefore, in all their struggles with Charles, lost no opportunity of diminishing that power upon which the unfortunate monarch might rely in the extremity of his distress. The government of the colony, therefore, being in the interest of Charles's enemies, endeavoured to counteract the efforts of their monarch, whenever the latter seemed inclined to yield to the wishes of his Irish subjects. They disobeyed his orders, if those orders went to conciliate and allay the discontents which they were interested to provoke. Parsons and Borlase seemed to speculate on the prospect of rebellion, and anxious only for the success of those measures which the English parliament were struggling to carry against the king. Their study seemed to be, to multiply his difficulties in Ireland, to irritate the people to insurrection, and thus give full swing to the sword of the bigot, and the avarice of the confiscator.

It does not come within the limits of this compendium to give a lengthened and systematic detail of all the various and afflicting transactions which occurred in Ireland, during the fatal and disastrous insurrection of sixteen hundred and forty-one. The heart or the understanding can derive but little improvement from the contemplation of those scenes which exhibited the struggles of unprincipled power with vindictive suffering, which present to the reader the retaliations of cruelty, and leaves the mind to balance the account between

the comparative efforts of rancorous and malignant bigotry. The Irishman of this period, who flatters himself with the interesting vision of national independence, anxiously follows the progress of Roger O'Moore. He peruses the description with pleasure which represents this advocate of national rights as the object of every man's regard, the conciliator of every heart, and favourite of every muse. He will not be persuaded by the labours of the corrupt historian, that the hero who could command the affections of his countrymen, could be capable of giving countenance to the perpetration of those disgusting cruelties which are so profusely charged upon the Irish ; or that Roger O'Moore could even have sought to accomplish the liberties of his countrymen, through the medium of all the misery that crowds the melancholy period of which we are now writing. Roger O'Moore was once the head of a powerful Irish family of Leinster ; his ancestors had been expelled from their princely possessions in the reign of Mary ; and Roger O'Moore, animated with all the pride and spirit of his name and family, was doomed to witness the degradation of his house, and the insolent triumphs of his enemies. No Irishman possessed so many qualifications to command the love and reverence of his countrymen ; his manners were courteous and inspiring, his judgment acute, and his courage invincible ; he could boast of the noblest alliances, a person remarkably graceful, a quick discernment of men's characters, and a pliancy in adapting himself to their sentiments and passions. The native Irish

looked up to such a man with enthusiastic ardour; he was the theme of their songs; the daughters of Ireland regarded him as their hero, and her sons followed him with pride and with rapture. Every hill and every valley rung with the name of Roger O'Moore. The Irish standards were wrought with his name, and the national signal which passed through every province of Ireland was—"God, our Lady, and Roger O'Moore." Such was the character of the leader who organized the formidable insurrection of sixteen hundred and forty-one—an insurrection into which the native Irish were driven by the denunciations of the bigot and the avarice of the confiscator. Dr Curry, in his invaluable review of the civil wars of Ireland, has satisfactorily vindicated the character of his country against the vicious imputation, that the insurrection of which we are writing, was as unprovoked as it was barbarous; that it burst forth in the calm of public confidence, when Ireland was about to enjoy the blessings of a limited government, when the privileges of the people were beginning to be respected, when national industry, the manufactures and agriculture of the country, were rising from the ruins of civil war and anarchy. Dr Curry has protected his country against the malicious charges of the impudent slanderer, and has proved, by a chain of unanswerable evidence, that the native Irish had no refuge but their courage and their arms against the threats of extermination and the rapacity of fanaticism.

The unfortunate Charles himself, has borne testimony to the provocations which were practised by the governors of Ireland, Parsons and Borlase,

to irritate the Irish to insurrection. "If I," said Charles in his reply to a declaration of the English commons, "had been suffered to perform my engagements to the Irish, there would have been no rebellion in Ireland. Had the governors of Ireland passed the bills for securing the estates of the natives, or for confirming the other promised graces, the Irish would not have had recourse to violence for a redress of their grievances." The extirpation of the catholics seems to have been determined upon by the same governors; Mr Carte, in his life of Ormond, has the following strong testimony to the intention of the anti-catholic party of this period: "Some time before the rebellion broke out, it was confidently reported that Sir John Clotworthy, who well knew the designs of the faction that governed the house of commons of England, had declared there in a speech, that "the conversion of the papists in Ireland, was only to be effected by the bible in one hand, and the sword in the other;" and Mr Pym, another distinguished member, gave out, "that they would not leave a priest in Ireland:" to the like effect, Sir William Parsons, (one of the Irish governors), out of a strange weakness or detestable policy, positively asserted before many witnesses, "that within a twelvemonth, no catholic should be seen in Ireland." He had sense enough to know the consequences that would naturally arise from such a declaration, which, however it might contribute to his own selfish views, he would hardly have ventured to make so openly and without disguise, if it had not been agreeable to the po-

litics and measures of the English faction, whose party he espoused, and whose directions were the general rule of his conduct."—"It is evident," says Dr Warner in his history of the Irish rebellion, "from the Lords Justices letter* to the Earl of Leinster, then lieutenant, that they hoped for an extirpation, not of the mere Irish only, but of all

* Mr Taaffe has the following observations on the causes of the Irish insurrection of 1641. Their fidelity and truth are supported by all the protestant writers of this period who did not feel an immediate interest in calumny and misrepresentation. "The Irish insurrection," says Mr Taaffe, "was but a part of the revolutionary scheme, formed in England and Scotland by the puritans. This is the master-key to the proceedings of the party in both islands. The furious denunciations against popery, contained in the solemn league and covenant, in sundry acts of parliament, and in fanatical petitions to parliament for the extermination of papists, encouraged, pompously received and published; torture and death inflicted on many professors of that religion—all were directed to that end. It is difficult to conceive," continues Mr Taaffe, "that any person calling on the name of Christ, and not quite insane, would seriously intend the diabolical project of exterminating a nation for religious opinions; but all those threats, alarms, and false rumours of fictitious plots, however ridiculous, were among the revolutionary schemes of working up the many headed hydra to the utmost fury. It was deemed necessary to fanaticise the public to prepare for great changes in church and state, and the hue and cry against popery, involving the established prelacy, partly through the affinity of the two churches, partly through the imprudence of Charles and Laud, was a potent engine to work on minds ignorant and credulous, especially to tales of malignity. The Bible and the spirit of canting hypocrisy and fanaticism, were to the English democrats of the seventeenth century, what the age of reason and infidelity were to the French democrats of the eighteenth. The means different, for a similar object, as a revolution of opinion must precede a revolution in the states."

the old English families also, that were Roman Catholics." Dr Curry says, that this dread of an extirpation, as appears from a multitude of depositions taken before Dr Henry Jones, and other commissioners appointed by the Lords Justices, prevailed universally among the catholics of Ireland, and was insisted upon as one of their reasons for taking up arms. The Earl of Ormond, in his letter of January the 27th, and February 26th, 1641, to Sir William St Leger, imputes the general revolt of the nation, then far advanced, to the publishing of such a design. The most illiberal historian who has presumed to blacken the fame of his country by the imputation of principles it has a hundred times abjured, will not now persevere in the denial of the real object and views of those malignant fanatics who drove the Irish to madness in the year 1641. The extirpation of the Irish catholic, and the humiliation of the English sovereign, went hand in hand; and the hope of obtaining the properties of the Irish became a new stimulus to a policy as sanguinary as it was foolish.

The catholic clergymen did not escape the tongue of the slanderous; and the missionaries of peace and patience, under unmerited sufferings, were at the same moment represented as the instigators of rebellion, the disseminators of doctrines which would dissolve society, and the sycophantic and spiritless defenders of the most servile doctrines. It is strange, that even at the period in which Mr Leland wrote, the mind of the historian could have been so insensible to the suggestions of truth, as to

put on record the following libellous effusion—the progeny of falsehood and bigotry, and the laboured attestation of a corrupted, though able writer, to the calumnies of fanaticism. Speaking of the catholic clergy of this period, Mr Leland says, “ that they had the influence, even over the gentry of their communion, with which they were invested by the tenets of their own religion. The ignorant herd of papists they governed at their pleasure. They had received their education and imbibed their principles in the foreign seminaries of France and Spain. Hence they returned to Ireland, bound solemnly to the pope in unlimited submission, without profession or bond of allegiance to the king. Full fraught with these absurd and pestilent doctrines, which the moderate of their own communion profess to abominate; of the universal monarchy of the pope, as well civil as spiritual; of his authority to excommunicate and depose princes; to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to dispense with every law of God and man; to sanctify rebellion and murder, and even to change the very nature and essential difference of vice and virtue; and with this and other impious trumpery of schools and councils, these ecclesiastics filled their superstitious votaries.”

The authority on which Mr Leland has thought proper to ground the preceding observations, is a disgraced and excommunicated catholic clergyman, who, smarting under indignity, stops at no charge, however monstrous, against the doctrine and principles of the church which degraded him. Mr

Leland relies on the authority of Peter Walsh, against whom the pope had denounced excommunication, as the unanswerable evidence of the atrocity of these doctrines, which were preached and disseminated by the Irish priesthood. But Mr Leland should have had the candour to acknowledge, that even the excommunicated Peter Walsh had not the hardihood to comprehend the entire of the Irish catholic clergy in his vindictive accusation, nor did he refuse putting on record, that the principal catholic seminaries of the continent, those of Paris, Rheims, Caen, Thoulouse, Poitiers, Valance, Bourdeaux, and Bruges, had on different occasions publicly condemned the pope's deposing power, as false, contrary to the word of God, seditious and detestable.

Mr Leland might have seen that even his own authority, Peter Walsh, bore testimony to the falsehood of the accusations which the fanatics of the day were in the practice of bringing against the catholic religion. Mr Leland might also have learned from Mr Carte, in his life of Ormond, a writer who was no friend to the catholic clergy, and whose means of information were better than that of any other man, either before or after his time, that "although this conspiracy was imputed to Roman catholic priests, yet not above two or three of them appeared to know any thing about it." These are Mr Carte's own words ; but this candid historian goes farther ; for he says, "if the Catholic clergy had all, even to a man, concurred in the insurrection, they would have been justified by the cruel

injunctions and orders issued by the lords justices of Ireland, (Parsons and Borlase,) “to the soldiery, to show no mercy to the Catholic clergy.”

Mr Carte continues, that “the English House of Commons gave them reason to apprehend every thing that is dreadful to human nature. They had caused the laws to be put in execution against recusants all over England. Of eight Roman catholic priests who had been taken up for the sole crime of saying mass, seven were condemned and executed. The king struggled to defend them against the fury of the puritan parliament, but in vain. The parliament loudly remonstrated against the royal interposition, and the vengeance of fanaticism thirsted for the shedding of human blood.” Mr Carte’s reflections on those facts, which Mr Leland might have read, and from which a mind like his might have derived some little portion of liberality, are peculiarly worthy the serious reflection of the readers of Irish history. In a short sentence he vindicates the human heart, goaded to vengeance by the commission of barbarous cruelty; he shelters the persecuted and unprotected against the charge of sanguinary and unpitying bigotry, and wisely accounts for all that recriminatory warfare which shocks the sensibility of every reader of our miserable records. “When men,” writes Mr Carte, “have every thing to dread in peace, and much to hope from a war, it is natural for them to choose the latter, and use their utmost endeavours to make it successful; nor is it any wonder that the catholic priests in such a situation of affairs, should have

recourse to arms, for the safety of their lives; and despairing of indulgence in quiet times, should seek in troublesome ones for an establishment never to be obtained but by the prevailing force of an insurrection." These are the reflections of a protestant writer, possessed of the best sources of information, living at a period when it would be supposed the understanding could have scarcely recovered its strength after the shock of conflicting sects, in which the most enlightened are apt to be borne down by the artifice of falsehood, or the exaggeration of calumny, against such an authority.—With Mr Carte may be adduced Sir John Temple, who lived at this disastrous period of Irish suffering, and who has left to posterity the accumulated prejudices of the men with whom he acted, during the insurrection of 1641. Sir John Temple was one of the privy council with Borlase and Parsons; and naturally interested in the circulation of every slander which might justify the violence of this period in the government of the country. We therefore find him exaggerating every act of the Irish, and representing the insurrection in which they had engaged, as the offspring of the most sanguinary bigotry, unprovoked by the violence of their government, and not even to be palliated by the suspicion of danger to their religion or their liberties: but as Dr Nelson, another protestant writer, in his introduction to the second volume of his historical collections, very sensibly and truly observes, "it is notorious, that Sir John Temple, in writing his history of the rebellion in 1641, was

bound by confederacy to assert the proceedings of the lords justices, who were highly in reputation with the usurpers of the parliamentary faction, and by them empowered, as commissioners, to impose upon the protestant subjects of Ireland that traitorous and disloyal solemn league and covenant, which was a direct oath of confederacy, not only against, but purposely to ruin and destroy the king, the church, and the loyal party ; I cannot observe the book to be printed in London, in 1646, by public allowance, (a time when no books were licensed, but such as made court to the prevailing faction of the usurpers, or which might be useful to support their calumnies against his Majesty, especially as to the Irish rebellion), without too just a suspicion of its integrity." Yet, such is the light by which Mr Hume suffered his mind to be directed, when treating of the Irish rebellion ; and Mr Leland gravely quotes his authority, as unanswerable evidence of those barbarities, which Sir John Temple charges on our insulted country. To what we have already said in support of our opinion, that Sir John Temple's charges against the Irish character were undeserving the attention of any impartial mind, and that the accusations with which his book is crowded against the religion and conduct of the catholics, in 1641, are the mere effusions of a corrupt and interested calumniator, we shall add the authority and opinion of Dr Curry. Speaking of Sir John Temple, he observes, " This gentleman published his history of the Irish rebellion in the year 1646, by the direction of the parliament party, which

then prevailed ; and to which, though long before in actual rebellion, he was always attached. The falsehoods it contains are so numerous and glaring, that even the government, in 1674, seem to have been offended, *and himself ashamed of the republication of it.* This we gather from a letter of Capel, Earl of Essex, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to Mr Secretary Coventry, of that date, wherein we find those words, ‘ I am to acknowledge your’s of the 22d of December, in which you mention a book that was newly published, concerning the cruelties committed in Ireland at the beginning of the late war. Upon further inquiry, I find, that Sir John Temple, (Master of the Rolls of Ireland,) author of that book, was sent to by several stationers of London, to have his consent to the printing thereof ; but he assures me, that he utterly denied it ; and whoever printed it, did it without his knowledge. Thus much I thought fit to add to what I formerly said upon this occasion, that I might do this gentleman right, in case it were suspected he had any share in publishing this new edition.” We felt it a duty to our country to expose the character of that author, who is quoted by her enemies against her moral and religious principles ; who has laboured to present the religion of the Catholic as the source of every crime ; and the character of the native Irishman, deserving the contempt and abhorrence of every friend to humanity. The calumnies which Sir John Temple has propagated, have been echoed by the thousand sycophants and slaves of British injustice who have succeeded him ; they

have been so often repeated, that credulity has become conviction, and the minds which had the firmness to repel the exaggerations of malignant falsehood, have been seen to sink under the indefatigable industry of the hired libeller.

The insurrection of 1641 was the natural effect of persecution; it was the vindictive ebullition of great public spirit, driven to madness by the goadings of religious intolerance. The cruelties committed during this moral convulsion, were provoked by a series of unrelenting oppressions, never to be satiated with the misery of the Irish; and the terrible vengeance which the latter inflicted on their enemies, should teach the future governors of Ireland, that the people are always barbarized by intolerance, and rendered savage by injustice. We shall not, in this compendium, follow the various fluctuations of the different parties which acted in the insurrection of 1641; we shall not pursue the course of the rebel or the loyalist; we shall not follow Roger O'Moore and his companions through the multiplicity of dangers and enterprizes in which they were engaged: such a relation would be little more than a picture of barbarous cruelty and recriminatory vengeance,—a revival of all those afflicting details which the friend of Ireland and humanity would anxiously bury in everlasting oblivion. We shall not in this volume disgust the reader by a recital of the atrocious massacre at island Magee by the English; nor shall we set down the terrible vengeance which the Irish, soon

after, at Portnadow, inflicted on their sanguinary enemies. *

* The unaccountable credulity which could for a moment countenance the circulation of the fables to which the terrified imaginations, or perhaps the corrupt policy of the writers, gave birth, is not easily reconcileable with the common sense which regulates the judgment and religious opinions of modern days. What man can refrain from smiling at the solemn gravity with which an historian will record the following absurdities :—" Hundreds of the ghosts of protestants," says Sir John Temple, " that were drowned at Portnadow bridge, were seen in the river bolt upright, and were heard to cry out for revenge on those rebels. One of these ghosts was seen with hands lifted up, and standing in that posture, from the 29th of December to the latter end of the following lent."

A modern historian (Mr Taaffe) has the following sensible observations on those miserable records of murderers, and ghosts, and goblins, which haunted the imaginations of every fool, and were the favourite theme of every knave, long after the period when it was supposed such events occurred.

" At this day (1810) it is not so material to know how many were massacred by either side, as to discover the motives that prompted the parties to those atrocities, and the prime movers of the rebellion, at whose door all the cruelties are to be laid; first, it is notorious, as already proved from the Scots covenant, (that canting, fanatical, intolerant libel on religion and common sense), and the denunciations of the English commons, as well as the sanguinary petitions received and encouraged by them, that they kindled a fanatical enthusiasm for the extermination of popery and papists; a furious zeal for such infernal projects being diligently propagated among the ignorant multitude. Nor were men of education exempt from the contagion; witness the anathema pronounced by Dr Usher against any toleration of popery, declaring, (on the catholics offering a considerable composition for the relaxation of the penal laws,) ' that it was sacrilege to compound with idolatry for money.' Armed fanatics thus tutored to blood, would think it meritorious to slay the reputed idolaters. But there was also another obvious motive, besides difference of

Could we, in passing through the scene of blood and desolation which our country exhibited at this period, discover a single gleaming of humanity, or a single effort of justice, we should feel it our duty to put it on record ; but the Irish heart was so brutalized by oppression, that to destroy and to extirpate seemed to be considered as the summit of patriotism, and the generous emotions of the human bosom to be swallowed up in the barbarous denunciations of mutual cruelty and hatred.

It is to be lamented, that Mr Leland should have set down, with such peculiar accuracy, the numerous atrocities which the insurrection of 1641 furnished to his pen ; and it is a subject of still greater regret, that the eloquence of the historian always assumes a bolder tone, and the colouring of his picture always becomes more glowing, whenever the vindictive barbarities of his countrymen are about to be described. There is no allowance for an unoffending people driven to madness by religion, that much more exasperated the northern Irish against the British planters. These men were, by violence and fraud, possessed of the estates of the native Irish about thirty years before, and were now living in opulence ; while the descendants of the most ancient proprietors in Europe, or perhaps in the world, were pining in indigence, or emigrating for bread to foreign countries ; than which no cause is more capable of exciting enmity. The royal robbers, James and Charles, prepared the combustible of very extensive discontent, and the puritans kindled the wisp. This will satisfactorily appear from the places where the insurrection commenced ; counties where ancient proprietors were unjustly dispossessed of their estates, which were partly bestowed, and partly sold, to English adventurers."

by the persecutions of an insatiable avarice. The historian has no commiseration for the thousand families of the native Irish, whom the agents of England expelled from their homes ; whose properties they confiscated, and whose children they beggared : if the English suffer, the indignation of Mr Leland is roused, and his eloquence flows in a strong and irresistible current. The following is a good sample of the moderation with which this impartial historian records the acts and proceedings of his countrymen.

“ They who escaped the utmost fury of the rebels, languished in miseries horrible to be described. Their imaginations were overpowered and disordered by the recollection of tortures and butchery. In their distraction, every tale of horror was eagerly received, and every suggestion of frenzy and melancholy believed implicitly. Miraculous escapes from death ; miraculous judgments on murderers ; lakes and rivers of blood ; marks of slaughter indelible by every human effort ; visions of spirits chanting hymns ; ghosts rising from rivers and shrieking out revenge ; these and such like fancies were propagated and received as incontestible.” When Mr Leland is, in the next page, describing the merciless slaughter of the Irish in island Magee, a district bordering on Carrickfergus, where three thousand unoffending innocent persons, men, women, and children, according to Mr Carte, in his life of Ormond, were barbarously sacrificed to the fury of a remorseless soldiery, we cannot hear a single sigh of compassion ; not a breathing of pity,

nor a single reflection of reprobation or condolence with the reader. The duty of the historian should rather be directed to heal than to irritate; to account for the cause, rather than exaggerate the cruelties, which persecution often provoked, and which justice to the devoted Irish would always have prevented. The parliament of Ireland, and the Lords Justices, Borlase and Parsons, interested in the protraction of that insurrection to which their cruelties had given birth, discouraged every effort which was made by their most efficient generals, to put an end to the power of the insurgents. "Whatever were the professions of the chief governors," says Mr Leland, "the only danger they really apprehended, was that of a too speedy suppression of the rebels." The Earl of Ormond was, in numerous instances, limited in his resources, restrained in his progress, and absolutely prohibited in the adoption of those plans which would have speedily extinguished the flame of insurrection.

Confiscation and plunder was the great object of the puritan governors of the pale; and, as Mr Leland has the candour to acknowledge, "the favourite and anxious wish of the Irish governors, and their friends, the English parliament, was the utter extermination of all the catholics of Ireland. Their estates," continues the same historian, "were already marked out and allotted to their conquerors; so that they and their posterity were consigned to inevitable ruin." Mr Carte, in his life of the Earl of Ormond, gives the same opinion on the designs of the government of Ireland at this period, and

attributes almost all the calamity with which the English inhabitants of Ireland were visited, to the unprincipled and avaricious policy of its government. The insurrection was carried on in the different provinces with various success; those of the south exhibited more order and system in their operations than the north. Their conflicts, though not important in their results, were marked with circumstances of cruelty and barbarity equally disgraceful to the contending parties. There seemed to be little more than a rivalry of vengeance between the Irish and the English, in which the innocent and unoffending were almost always the victims; and the total oblivion of which may perhaps be now considered as the first duty of the historian as well as the reader.*

* In addition to the authorities we have already adduced, in justification of the resistance of the Irish to the threats of extermination, and the actual infliction of great suffering, we shall subjoin the enlightened, comprehensive, and unanswerable observations of Doctor Curry, who has devoted so much labour to the establishment of truth, the refutation of calumny, and the confusion of all the hired libellers of the Irish people. These observations are to be found in his introduction to the Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland; and perhaps there could not be gleaned from the hundred volumes which have been written on the disastrous subject of the Irish insurrection, so satisfactory a consolidation of all those reasons which the most enthusiastic defenders of the Irish nation would wish to see advanced.

“At the period,” says Doctor Curry, “from which I have commenced the review of the civil wars in Ireland, it will be found, that spiritual hatred mixed itself with our former seeds of dissension. The perverseness so long imputed to the Irish, as a people, was no longer charged on their nature, but on their religion. Almost every moral and civil duty was then confined

The struggles of the Irish were hitherto so unsuccessful, that the boldest and most confident of

within the pale of an ecclesiastical party ; every species of treachery was placed beyond it ; real crimes were disowned by one faction ; imaginary crimes were imputed to another ; and this state of things occasioned guilt on both sides, which, in a different state, would undoubtedly be avoided. High as most of those crimes were, yet most were exaggerated, and the innocent suffered with the guilty. To complete the misery of the times, the gospel of peace was tortured to defend the measures and sanctify the drunkenness of every governing, as well as every resisting set of men ; and thus it fared in Ireland, in some time after the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne.

“ Queen Elizabeth, whose reign began in the height of ecclesiastical rage, had admirable talents for government. To plant civil order in the place of that misrule, which disgraced the three preceding reigns, was difficult. Her interest led her, and the success of her father and brother encouraged her, to change the religion then established in England. This she effected ; but truth must oblige us to confess, that the new church was reared on the foundations of persecution, and that the violence so justly censured in Queen Mary’s reign, was adopted as a justifiable measure in the present. The change was made by a quick act of legislative power, but without that moderation which sound policy should direct in establishments of this nature. By the change, one party in the nation was ruined, another was provoked ; papists were occasionally punished without discrimination ; and, in the idea of party justice, this procedure appeared equitable ; but the puritan protestant was punished also ; and the clamour ran high among dissenters, that the old beast returned, with a change only of the rider and the habiliments. The party for a comprehensive reformation grew popular, and increased in strength and in numbers every day, as it increased in faction and enthusiasm. The new church, even in the act of extirpating the old, created to itself enemies on all sides ; and thus it happened, that the system wove by civil policy, was in a great degree unravelled by the ecclesiastical. The natives of Ireland, ready at all times to recognize the temporal supremacy of their

their leaders began to despond. On the other hand, the English parliament determined to put forth all

sovereign, and reject every foreign claimant, lay or ecclesiastical, of such supremacy, merited being received into the society of constitutional subjects; and that they should be so received, had been the labour of Sir Henry Sydney, one of the wisest, ablest, and best governors ever sent into that kingdom—but in vain. The reformation, it is true, made no progress for a long time without the pale, and extraordinary efforts to enforce it by arms, would certainly be dangerous, as it might put an end to intestine divisions among the people, which hitherto proved so useful towards their reduction. To favour those divisions was previously the more politic alternative; and the queen received the submissions of many Irish chieftains at her court very graciously; dismissed them with honours and presents, and left them free as to the concerns of their spiritual conscience. It was otherwise within the pale and its environs; here even the seneschals of counties exercised plain tyranny over the people, and such particular severities were then inflicted, even in the opinion of the lord deputy himself (Lord Mountjoy) as were sufficient to drive the best and quietest states into a sudden confusion. The evils of persecution were severely felt in England particularly, and in several districts of Ireland, during the greater part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. One party was punished without discrimination, and the other (and indeed both) without sound policy. Those evils increased in the two succeeding reigns, when those three kingdoms, for the first time, had been united under one sovereign. James I., whom the trumpeters of faction charged with favouring popery, was a great and determined enemy to his popish subjects. His administration in Ireland, with little exception, is a full proof of this. His trimming conduct towards the papists of England, antecedently to his accession, is no proof to the contrary; for they gained nothing (and he intended they should gain nothing) by the laws he held out to them. Learned without knowledge, cunning without wisdom—one of his first gracious proclamations imputed a general gaol delivery to all his subjects, excepting *murderers and papists*—and this coupling of the latter with such criminals,

their strength, and to prosecute the war in Ireland with increased vigour and resources. They enter-

produced a resentment which, degenerating into mad revenge, contributed in a considerable degree to the detestable powder plot, entered into soon after by a few desperate men, to get rid of their persecutors. Charles, the successor of James, trod ruinously in his father's footsteps. He wanted to impose the English religion on his Scotch subjects. The covenanters would not bear the introduction of what they deemed a superstitious liturgy among them. They defended themselves against it by insurrection, and the parliament sitting at Westminster approved of their conduct. The northern Irish, finding affairs embroiled in Great Britain, and dreading fatal consequences from the resolutions denounced against papists in the English House of Commons, entertained the thought of availing themselves of the present opportunity of frustrating the intentions of their enemies, and shaking off the bondage they groaned under from the time of the queen's denial; but they meant to compass this end by means equally justifiable with those employed by the Scotch covenanters, and still without an impeachment of their loyalty. The memory of past grievances, the dread of present destruction, made those men desperate.

“ For forty years before the period we mention, the whole body of the Irish papists bore ministerial invasions of the most distressing nature to the human mind. The lands possessed by their families for several ages, were, in the court casuistry of that age, pronounced invalid and resumable tenures, though no charge of treason or rebellion could be made to the heirs in actual possession. Upon this pretence of defective titles, some have been ruined, others threatened with ruin: and this was not all. The court harpies, grown impatient at the passive conduct of the proprietors, attempted to provoke them to open rebellion, by exercising the most galling tyranny over their consciences, by fining, imprisoning, and punishing in various shapes, such papists as refused to join in the established form of worship. Here, then, see how the natives have been alarmed with regard to property and spiritual liberty, and how they were tortured by state inquisitors, for not submitting to religious doctrines which spiritual directors

ed into a treaty with Scotland, in 1642, for sending her army into Ireland. Robert Monroe, at the

may preach, but which no civil power on earth has a right to impose. They, surely, who vindicate the right of the Scots to insurrection in 1640, can, with no good grace, condemn that of the Irish in 1641; we do not defend either, but we may safely assert, that he who should, at this time of day, advance with my Lord Clarendon, that 'the Irish had no civil or religious grievances to complain of, during the forty years antecedent to the Ultonian rebellion in 1641,' has but a wretched alternative in opinion between wilful ignorance and barefaced dishonesty."

The malignant prejudice with which Mr Hume exaggerates the errors or the crimes of the Irish, and the furious prepossessions which he discovers through every page of his history against this unoffending and abused people, is well remarked upon by our able and honest countryman, Dr Curry. When Mr Hume was living, he and his friends were challenged by Dr Curry to an examination of the charges against the Irish people. Mr Hume was unwilling to correct those errors against the Irish character, and those insults against their feelings, which he well knew were so palatable to the insatiable monopoly of his English reader. Dr Curry, speaking of Mr Hume, observes, "It is indeed to be lamented that Mr Hume, one of the ablest writers of the present age, should, as an historian, suffer himself to be so far led astray by such cotemporaries as we have hinted at, as to transfer all, or most of the mischiefs of the year 1641, in Ireland, from the original authors to the unfortunate Irish alone. Parties less aggrieved, in Scotland, were up before them, and drew the sword, not only with impunity, but with advantage. The Irish in Ulster, who wanted to regain the lands they had lost, followed the example. We do not justify the act in either kingdom; we only advance in alleviation of the Irish crime, that the majority of the Irish nation had, in the two reigns of James and Charles, suffered a cruel bondage of thirty-eight years, with little intermission, and had now the most alarming prospect of extirpation before them. They did not mean to withdraw their allegiance from the king; even the weak leaders of the northern rabble had no such intention. The latter began and acted singly; most of the in-

head of three thousand men, embarked for Carrickfergus. He marched against Sir Phelim O'Neal, who retired to Armagh, full of rage and disappointment at the misfortunes of his army. The secret instructions of the Scottish general prevented him from following up the blow, which would have concluded the insurrection in the north. His friends and partizans in the English parliament had their particular views in the protraction of the war; and the English army was left to contend alone with the recruited army of Sir Phelim O'Neal. The latter were now further animated by the presence of a general in whose experience and military talents they confided. Owen O'Neal, whose arrival had been so long and so anxiously expected, landed in the county Donegal, with 100 officers, and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. He came from Dunkirk, and had served in 1640, in the Spanish and imperial armies, with great reputation. Mr Carte says, that he was an able and experienced general, quick in discerning, and diligent in improving any advantage offered by the enemy; more circumspect than enterprising; of a genius peculiarly suited to defence, and excellent at protracting a war; qualities of especial use in the service which he was now to undertake. His knowledge of the world, his prudence, his sobriety and caution, appeared to greater advantage, as they

nocent protestants, in the neighbouring districts, had time to escape into places of security before many murders were committed. The papists in the other provinces had no share in their guilt: they immediately published their detestation of it."

were contrasted with the intemperance and levity of Sir Phelim. Owen O'Neal was declared by the northern Irish head and leader of their confederacy. The instant he assumed the command of the Irish army, he issued orders that every act of inhumanity committed by his troops should be punished in the most exemplary manner. He deprecated every expedient not recognised by the most honourable warfare; he discouraged the cruel and vindictive, and circulated among his troops principles of mercy and humanity, even to their enemies.

Notwithstanding the formidable force which the Scottish general, Monroe, could now bring into the field, amounting to 20,000 foot, and 1000 horse, he suffered Owen O'Neal to collect and discipline his army, to fortify his strong posts, and assume an attitude of strength hitherto unenjoyed by the Irish insurgents. Nor were the foreign friends of the Irish inactive in furnishing them with supplies of every description, with money and ammunition, and the most experienced and enterprising officers. Cardinal Richelieu, who at this period administered the government of France, warmly co-operated with the Irish insurgents. He permitted those Irish officers who had distinguished themselves in the service of France to repair to their own country, in defence of its liberties and its religion.

The war in Ireland had now assumed a formidable aspect. It was conducted with as much system as spirit, and every expedient which the most judicious policy could suggest was adopted with alacrity

and decision. The clergy were summoned to make their appeal to the religious feelings of their countrymen,—to rouse their enthusiasm for the security of religious liberty,—and to inflame the spirit of the patriot by representing the cause in which he was embarked, as the cause of truth and of his country. A general synod assembled at Kilkenny, in the month of May, 1642. In this assembly we may for the first time discern a rational and efficient effort to bring into action the spirit and resources of the Irish nation. Here may be seen the centre of the great public mind, and the powerful engine by which its energies might be advantageously directed to the public liberty. The influence which so venerable a body could exercise in Ireland, was as natural as it was extensive. The Irish clergy had adhered to their religion and to their countrymen with a fidelity which the annals of the world cannot surpass. They passed through the furnace of the hottest persecution with a fortitude which no despotism, however malignant, could shake. That their voice and their decision, therefore, should be heard and followed with respect and with devotion by Irishmen, will not be wondered at by those who will call to their recollection the patience of the Irish priest, under centuries of intolerance and of suffering. The acts of the synod were most important. Like the clergy of all other sects of Christianity, they commenced with a declaration in support of the religion which they professed, asserting its superior claims to purity and truth, and that it was perfectly consistent with the duties of

their station, to call upon their countrymen to defend the religion of their forefathers against the rude and barbarous invasions of intolerance. They proclaimed their anxiety that no distinction should hereafter exist between the old and the new Irish ; that the Irish protestant who was friendly to his catholic countryman, should enjoy equal protection with the catholic ; that there should be no distinction but between those who were enemies and those who were friends ; that no man should be the victim of his peculiar and favourite faith ; and above all, they threatened the perpetrators of cruel and inhuman acts with the severest denunciations of the catholic church. They recommended provincial councils, composed of clergy and laity, and a general national council, to which the provincial councils should be subordinate ; and that foreign powers should be applied to—the emperor, the king of France, and the pope. Such were the acts of the clergy ; to which the catholic nobility and gentry, then residing in Kilkenny, immediately subscribed. To those who are in the practice of deprecating the interference of the Irish catholic priest in political considerations, we may reply, that he is justified by the example of every country in Europe. The minister of the protestant church thinks it no departure from his duty even to unsheath his sword in defence of his establishment in church and state. The minister of Christianity, the herald of peace, feels no compunctious visitings when standing in the ranks of his countrymen, associated for the purpose of defending the liberties

and the religion of his country. The same feeling actuated the bosoms of the Irish priests, when in solemn synod they appealed to the pride and spirit of their countrymen, to defend themselves against the cruel persecutions with which their country was threatened by an intolerant and sanguinary government. The Irish catholic priest, however, will often be found administering consolation to his bitterest enemy, blunting the sword which he could not sheath, and softening the spirit of vengeance which he could not entirely extinguish.

A supreme council, composed of the chief nobility and gentry, assembled, and Lord Montgarret was named as their president. A general assembly of the whole nation was then determined upon, whose first sittings were to take place in the ensuing month of October. It is impossible for an Irishman to contemplate this great and glorious scene, which elevates the humblest mind, and animates the coldest bosom, without indulging in those reflections which must embitter the days that Ireland is doomed to experience, stripped as she is of her purest robe of honour, thrown down from that station which she once occupied, and reduced, as she now is, to the humiliating and insulting vassalage of a tributary to the pride and strength and riches of another country. Fancy may in vain delineate the picture of an independent nation, making her own laws, commanding her own armies and navies, and bringing into action, at once honourable and productive to her people, her boundless resources in genius, industry, and strength.

In vain, we fear, may Ireland anticipate the blessings which flow to a nation from the enjoyment of equal rights; whose laws are administered by those who are interested in the impartial dispensation of justice; whose elevation and whose fortune go hand in hand with the honour and character of their country. No doubt, the convention which assembled in Kilkenny, in October 1642, and which comprised all that was dignified and spirited in the land, frequently flattered itself with the realization of so glorious a scene. Where the genius of Ireland stood untrammelled and unrestrained by the quibble of the placeman and the pensioner; where the Irish mind was buoyed up on the swelling sea of public freedom, and every heart and every hand were devoted to the establishment of equal laws and equal rights; where the eloquent found a subject commensurate with their powers, and the poet and orator enjoyed a perpetual theme of panegyric and glory—in such an assembly, the Irishman might indulge in all the visions of independence. Such contemplations made him equal to great and glorious enterprizes; they rendered the dangers of the struggle in which he was engaged as trifling, when compared with the object for which he was contending; and, like the armour of the warrior, covered and protected him against the power of his enemy. This celebrated convention, which gave so much hope to Ireland, and excited so much fear among her enemies, consisted of two houses, the one composed of tempo-

ral peers and prelates, the other of representatives deputed by the counties and cities.

The views of this assembly were strictly regulated by principles of the most unshaken attachment to the house of Stuart. Their declaration was candid, clear, and unequivocal; they claimed protection against injustice, and toleration for their religion; they took up arms as much in the defence of the royal prerogative as of their own liberties, and vindicated the constitutional claims of their sovereign, with as much zeal as they pleaded for their own rights. Though they thus adhered to the king, they denounced his Irish representatives. The direction of the confederacy was entrusted to a council composed of twenty-four persons, selected from the general convention. They were denominated the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland. They had the uncontrouled direction of the civil and military power of the country; and for their honour and security, a guard was assigned, consisting of five hundred foot and two hundred horse. The Irish convention then proceeded to the appointment of their generals, and to the distribution of their powers. Owen O'Neal was appointed to the command of the Ulster army, Preston to Leinster, Garret Barry to Munster, and Colonel John Burke to Connaught; they dispatched ambassadors to all the foreign countries, soliciting their aid and co-operation. Having thus prepared for war, they determined to demonstrate their anxiety for peace, by a respectful representation of the grievances by which they

were oppressed, and which they alleged were the ground-work of the formidable confederacy which they had now effected.

About this period, the differences between Charles and his parliament had increased to the utmost extent, and the Irish of the pale were divided into a royal and parliamentary faction. The Earl of Ormond and the army declared for the king; and the lords justices and their friends, who had imbibed all the prejudice, the malignity, and puritannical bigotry of the English parliament, co-operated in all the views of Charles's enemies. The civil war of England was now declared, and the animosity of the justices and the king's Irish general, the Earl of Ormond, promised an easy victory to the Irish confederacy. The present distresses of the sovereign pointed out the policy and expediency of paying immediate and respectful attention to the prayers of his Irish subjects. Pressed by an inveterate bigotry in his own country, which no concession could conciliate, he was advised by his friends to repose confidence in the fidelity of Ireland, to listen to her complaints, and protect his feelings. When we consider the formidable attitude of the Irish at this moment, we cannot but admire the kind forbearance which would sheath the Irish sword, and court a termination of hostilities. Balancing the rising power of English enemies against the possible aid which he might receive from his Irish subjects, and taking into consideration the awful consequences of driving a whole people to the desperate extremity of renouncing their allegiance to their

sovereign, he issued a commission to the Marquis of Ormond, and five Irish noblemen of the pale, to hold an immediate communication with the Irish confederacy, to receive and transmit their propositions of conciliation and peace. The lords justices left no expedient untried to defeat the royal views, and perpetuate a conflict, which might terminate in the submission of the king to the wishes of his enemies.

The English parliament, under the controul of the most furious fanaticism, thirsting for the annihilation of every adherent to the Catholic faith, armed the lords justices, Parsons and Borlase, with unlimited powers. The latter implicitly followed up the wishes of their patrons, and issued forth their orders of extermination. "It was resolved," says Borlase in his history of the Irish rebellion, "upon solemn debate, on the 8th of December, 1641, by the lords and commons of England, that they would never give consent to any toleration to the Popish religion in Ireland, or any other of his Majesty's dominions, which vote hath been since adjudged a main motive by the Irish, for making the war a cause of rebellion." This dreadful denunciation of the English parliament was faithfully followed up by the lords justices. With such rancorous enemies, the unfortunate Charles had to contend in all his difficulties. The negotiations between his Majesty's commissioners and the deputies of the confederacy, were frequently interrupted by the malignant suggestions of the lords justices. The king, under his peculiar circumstances, could not

yield to his disposition to conciliate the Irish. When he negociated with their leaders, he was compelled to the adoption of such language as was calculated to wound the pride and spirit of the Irish. The latter were reproached with the title of rebels ; and the moment which was selected to heal the wounds of the country, was also chosen to induce the acknowledgment of a crime which the Irish leaders always repelled with indignation. They pertinaciously refused to negotiate in any other character than that of men constitutionally demanding their rights ; and such were the embarrassments of the king, that he was obliged to accede to the pretensions of his Irish subjects. Four of the king's commissioners met the agents of the Irish at Trim. Here the latter presented their remonstrance of grievances and their petition for redress. They strongly pleaded their loyalty and their services ; the intolerance of the present governors, Parsons and Borlase ; and their sufferings under the most torturing oppression. They set forth the denunciations of their malignant and fanatical enemy, the English parliament ; and their apprehensions that nothing short of the extermination of their religion, its professors and followers, would appease the vengeance of its bigotry. They prayed their sovereign to convene a new parliament, in which the Irish might enjoy a fair and impartial representation ; where they might deliberate without controul, and from which those who professed the religion of the country should not be excluded. It is remarkable that the Irish agents also prayed his majesty to sus-

pend the law of Poynings, by which the deliberations of the Irish legislature were directed and restrained. Such claims could not be acceded to by the royal commissioners; but the pressure of the king's difficulties were now so severe, that it became a question of prudence to yield to the pretensions of the Irish. A cessation of hostilities was secretly proposed by the Marquis of Ormond, and candidly and honourably accepted by the Irish. They wanted no more than a redress of that injustice under which they suffered; and the increasing embarrassments of their sovereign did not raise their tone of complaint or remonstrance. They agreed to a cessation for twelve months, on such conditions as their agents and the Marquis of Ormond might hereafter agree upon. The misfortunes of the king continued to press the necessity of adopting the most expeditious plan of conciliation in Ireland. He gave orders to Ormond to accede to the wishes of the Irish confederacy, and he manifested his sincerity in the negociation, by committing to close custody the most virulent and odious enemies of the Irish—Parsons, Temple, Loftus, and Meredith. The Irish arms were triumphant in almost every part of the country, and the Irish convention, assembled at Kilkenny, partook of the general spirit which pervaded all ranks of their countrymen.

The present imposing attitude of the Irish attracted the attention of foreign courts; and all the expedients, drawn from policy and religion, were employed to extend the flame of national independence. Peter Scramp, a minister from the pope,

brought supplies of money and ammunition to the confederate Irish. He boldly animated them to an assertion of their country's freedom; that the king of England was no longer formidable to his English subjects, and much less to Ireland; that the partizans of the English parliament were now at their mercy; and that a most disgraceful spirit of slavery alone would suggest any measure short of national independence; that they would command the respect and the co-operation of foreign powers; and that a nation who would not seize the opportunity which providence had offered her to assert her rights, deserved to remain in everlasting bondage. The suggestions of the pope's envoy were not attended to by the more moderate among the leaders of the Irish, and a simple redress of the grievances of which they complained was the extent of their demands—the object for which they took up arms, and the sole condition on which they would agree to lay them down. The Earl of Clanrickard and Lord Castlehaven were most prominent in moderating the spirit of their countrymen. A cessation was finally concluded on the 15th of September, agreeable to both parties, and confirmed by the lords justices with all due solemnities. Thus was the current of Irish victory checked by a judicious concession on the part of the Marquis of Ormond; and the connection between the two countries preserved, which at this moment trembled on the feeble support of a single act of conciliation. The success of Ormond's treaty with the Irish, was a serious counterpoise to the rising strength of the

enemies of Charles; or, as they were accustomed to observe, the Irish forces would now unite with the popish party in England. The immediate effect of this cessation, was the sending forward a considerable Irish army to the assistance of Charles. They were met by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who gave them a complete defeat.

Ormond was created lord lieutenant of Ireland, in which station he displayed that sound and penetrating judgment which so successfully combated with the greatest difficulties. The fanaticism of the Scotch, headed by Munroe, in the north; the patriotic enthusiasm of the Irish confederacy; and the loyal zeal of the king's party, were difficult of management and direction, unless under the hands of so accomplished a politician as Ormond. So ably did he now conduct himself between the friends of the king and the confederacy, that the Irish made overtures to him to accept the command of their armies; to consolidate the royal and the Irish force, and make common cause against the Scotch, who seemed to have determined on the extinction of the Irish name and religion. The peculiar situation of Ormond protested against the adoption of such a measure. His anxiety for his royal master dictated the policy of rejecting a proposal which might strengthen the arm and the arguments of his enemies, the parliament of England; and on the other hand, the present formidable power of the Irish, made it necessary to avoid all causes of irritation and insult. In the meantime the agents of the Irish confederacy negotiat-

ed with their sovereign at Oxford, according to the articles of cessation, and the conditions of a final peace between Charles and his Irish subjects were here proposed, which would for ever secure the loyalty and tranquillity of Ireland. The best evidence of the humiliation of the king, and the proud and imposing attitude of Ireland in 1644, is to be found in the spirited and independent character which distinguishes the demands of the Irish agents.

They claimed from Charles the freedom of their religion ; a repeal of all penal statutes ; a free parliament ; a suspension of Poynings' law, during its session ; the annulling of all acts and ordinances since the first of August, 1641 ; a general act of oblivion ; a free and indifferent appointment of all Irish natives, without exception, to places of trust and honour. They also insist upon the formal declaration of the independency of an Irish parliament on that of England. They propose an inquiry to be instituted into all the cruelties and barbarities which have been committed on either side in the late unfortunate struggles ; and that the perpetrators should be brought to condign punishment. In the spirit of truth and candour, the Irish agents declared, that the granting of such demands as have been here set forth, would insure the steady and ardent loyalty of the people of Ireland ; that the latter sought no more than that protection which a free and impartial constitution would give them ; and that they were ready to sacrifice, in return for its blessings, their lives and their properties. On these conditions, ten thousand Irish soldiers were ready

to draw their swords in defence of their monarch, against the insatiable and fanatical licentiousness of English enemies.

The protestants of the pale were not inattentive to those important transactions at Oxford. They sent forward their delegates to plead their cause, to repel misrepresentation, and defend the ascendancy of their party. It is distressing to be obliged to record the furious denunciations of the protestant Irishman against his catholic fellow subject, who was seeking nothing more than a participation in that constitution which the protestant would monopolize: and it is afflicting to remark the impotent vanity with which monopoly asserts its pretensions to royal partiality. Mr Leland says, “the extravagance of intolerance exhibited by the deputies of the protestants, astonished the king and his ministers; for what did they require, in the face of those events which had so lately deluged their country with blood? They prayed his majesty to perpetuate the causes of public irritation. They proposed the banishment of the catholic clergy; that the confederacy should be disarmed; that the utmost vengeance should be taken on those who carried arms; that the oath of supremacy should be enforced, and the law of Poynings (which degraded our Irish parliament) piously maintained; and that all forfeited estates should be vested in English planters. In a word, they proposed that the catholic religion, and all its followers, should be proscribed, and, if possible, exterminated. The historians of these times attribute the malignity of such pro-

posals to the influence of the parliamentary fanatics of England, who speculated on the multiplication of the royal embarrassments. Indeed, it is impossible to conceive that such sentiments could flow from the bosoms of the Irish protestants, however provoked by the excesses of ignorance, or the barbarities of fanaticism. The suggestions of the most vulgar policy would restrain the human mind from thus volunteering in its own degradation. Though the catholic might be humiliated to the level of the brute, the Irish protestant must have seen that such a punishment would recoil on him who inflicted it ; and that the oppressed and degraded Irish would find their vengeance in the poverty and degradation of their masters. The fanatics of the English parliament, however, who dictated such principles, could not be influenced by considerations like these ; and it is therefore reasonable to suppose them to be the principal promoters of such an infernal policy as we have described. The increasing difficulties of Charles obliged him to pay the most respectful attention to the Irish confederacy, whose claims were as reasonable and just, as their power to enforce them was formidable and commanding. They sought the rights of man, and were superior to their English fellow subjects in kind and benevolent sentiments, because they did not seek to establish their freedom on the ruin of that of others. Taking into consideration the difficulties of Charles, the demands of the Irish should be considered as moderate ; yet such was the situation of parties in England, that the king could not make such con-

cessions to his Irish subjects as would silence all future complaint. To the Marquis of Ormond was left the ungracious and difficult task of concluding such an arrangement as would give satisfaction to all parties in Ireland. He met the deputies of the Irish confederacy in Dublin, on the 6th of September, 1644. At this interview the cessation was prolonged: but the conditions of peace proposed by the Irish, being an echo of those proposed in the former year at Oxford, could not be conceded to by Ormond. The treaty was adjourned until April, 1644; during which interval Ormond promised to communicate with his sovereign on the proposed conditions of the Irish confederacy. Those who have doubted the wisdom of that policy which desires Ireland to estimate her hopes of prosperity by the depression of England; those who refuse to take advantage of the difficulties of the English government, or who will not measure their chances of redress by the multiplication of English embarrassment, let them read with attention the letter of Charles to the Marquis of Ormond, in 1645. "Whatever it cost," says Charles, "*you are to make me the best bargain you can, and not to discover your enlargement of power till you needs must; and though I leave the management of this great and necessary work to you entirely, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poynings' act for such bills as should be agreed on, these and the present taking off the penal laws against papists by a law, will do it, I shall not think it a hard bargain, so that freely and vigorously they engage*

themselves in my assistance, against my rebels in England and Scotland; for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honour." Here the Irish reader will see justice going hand in hand with royal adversity; he will see the tears of the sovereign washing out the foulness of the penal code, and the Irish heart relieved from the pressure of intolerance, in proportion to the humiliation of English power. To take the oath of supremacy is dispensed with, as a necessary qualification in a member of parliament; and every disposition consistent with sound practical policy was manifested, to conciliate the Irish affections. The councils of the Irish confederacy were now conducted with talent, spirit, and integrity. They stood on high ground, and maintained their station with true patriotic firmness; neither to be divided by the subtleties of negociation, nor weakened by the influence of corruption. They multiplied their applications to foreign courts, and guarded against the capricious revolutions of fortune. They displayed their strength and their zeal, by sending forward fourteen hundred of their most distinguished troops to the service of France; and when Ormond solicited them to supply Charles with two thousand men to support Montrose in Scotland, the answer of the Irish confederacy was worthy of the cause in which they were embarked. It speaks a volume in support of that manly and decided understanding, which could not be shaken by the chivalrous weakness that sympathised with royalty in distress, while it forgot the duty which it owed

to the liberties of its country. It is as follows: "We never will send men to the assistance of the king, until such a peace shall be settled as will demonstrate that we had really taken up arms for the sake of our religion and our country, and to establish both in their full splendour and their ancient grandeur."

Mr Leland is indignant at the Irish priest, for the zeal he displayed in animating his countrymen to a firm and fearless assertion of the rights due to their religion and their liberties. His words are as follows: "The clergy, who had the whole commonalty at their devotion, laboured to obstruct all measures of accommodation which might not gratify the utmost extravagance of their wishes. Too ignorant to discern, and too selfish to regard the real interests of their party, they entertained their imaginations with gay prospects of riches, power, and magnificence, and intoxicated their partizans with declamations on the splendour of their religion." This is a sweeping judgment on the talents, the spirit, the fidelity, and the fortitude, with which the Irish clergy have adhered to the religion and the liberties of their country, unworthy of the veracity of an honest historian, and disgraceful to the character of an Irishman, who ought not to be insensible to the claims which the Irish priest has on the veneration of posterity, when he reads the struggles with which he combated, the seduction he resisted, and the despotism which he conquered. The clergy of the established church would justly consider that accusation illiberal, which would represent their

attachment to the creed of their fathers as the offspring of ignorant zeal and barbarous fanaticism.

The modern historian should endeavour to inculcate in the heart and understanding of his reader, a becoming respect for the various, and often unintelligible opinions, of his fellow creatures. He should recommend the toleration of all. He should discourage that insolent pride which would dictate on subjects incomprehensible by man; and he should demonstrate from his reading and his experience, that he who conscientiously adheres to the faith of his fathers, without turning to the right or to the left to question the purity of another's creed, will be the best member of society, as well as the best subject of the king. Toleration is the great secret which promises to harmonize mankind. Under its government the fanatic loses all his importance, and bigotry all its malignity. The human mind ranges at large in search of truth, and no longer adheres to a doctrine which cannot bear the crucible of examination. Mr Leland was a distinguished member of the established church. This divine, who boasts of professing a religion which preaches resistance to oppression, should have been one of the first to tolerate those principles which the great majority of the Christian world have adopted, as Christians, and which the penal laws against Ireland have contributed to circulate.

The impatience manifested by Charles to come to a final accommodation with the Irish, contributed to raise the expectations and pretensions of the confederacy. He granted a commission to a zealous

partizan of the royal cause, the Earl of Glamorgan, empowering this nobleman, (who being married to the sister of the Earl of Thomond, was allied to the most powerful families in Ireland), to adopt such arrangements as he thought best calculated to bring his differences with his Irish subjects to a speedy termination. The Earl of Glamorgan impressed Charles with the opinion, that so extensive was his influence among the Irish, that he would be shortly able to lead ten thousand men from Ireland to the assistance of his sovereign. Charles armed the Earl of Glamorgan with full powers, and the latter proceeded to negotiate with the Irish confederacy. This important assembly had now occupied the serious attention, and excited the interest, of all the crowned heads of Europe. The sufferers in the cause of the catholic religion naturally attracted the sympathy, and commanded the regard of the Roman pontiff, Innocent X. He received the sacred ambassador of the Irish confederacy, with all the respect due to the spirit and fidelity with which the people who sent him adhered to the religion of the catholic church. He sent forward his envoy, John Baptista Rinuccini, a noble Florentine, to the Irish confederacy; who was eminently gifted with all those qualities best calculated to command and to conciliate. Eloquent, graceful, and ambitious; zealously anxious for the unlimited independence of the people to whom he was delegated, he attached to his interests every Irish heart which honestly glowed with the love of country. Mr Leland charges the ambassador from

Rome with an extravagance of spiritual pride. Perhaps it would be more just to attribute to Rinuccini the same enthusiastic zeal for the ascendancy of his religion, which so peculiarly distinguishes Mr Leland himself; and that in all his efforts to procure for the Irish the splendid and permanent establishment of the catholic church in Ireland, he was only performing those duties which every sincere and honest sectarian feels it incumbent on him to perform. Whatever were the errors in point of prudence and expediency committed by the pope's nuncio, in his various negotiations between the Irish and the Marquis of Ormond, it must not be forgotten, that he always made the oath of association, by which the Irish confederate assembly of Kilkenny were bound to each other, the perpetual rule of his conduct, without ever bending to the suggestions of expediency, or yielding to the dictates of a temporary policy. The oath of association, taken by the convention of Kilkenny, particularly declared, "that those who subscribed it would not consent to lay down their arms until all the laws and statutes made since the time of king Henry VIII., whereby any restraint, penalty, mulct, or incapacity, or any other restriction whatsoever, is or may be laid on any of the Roman catholic religion, within this kingdom, and of their several functions, should be repealed, revoked, and declared void in the next parliament, by one or more acts of parliament to be passed therein." This was the oath by which the Irish confederates were bound to each other; and it remains to the impartial ob-

server of those times, to decide whether the Irish party, who insisted upon the performance of the conditions for which they first took up arms, are deserving of those severe animadversions in which every Anglo-Irish writer has thought proper to indulge. There is no doubt that if the spirit which actuated Rinuccini and Owen O'Neal, had not been opposed by the artful machinations of Ormond, and the wretched compromising policy of some of the members of the council of Kilkenny, the fair and honest claims of Ireland would have been conceded, and religious and civil liberty completely established. The double dealing conduct of Ormond towards the Irish, is demonstrated by the necessity he imposed on the king to set on foot a secret negotiation with the Irish confederacy, through the medium of the Earl of Glamorgan. From this effort on the part of Charles, it is manifest either that he suspected the truth and sincerity of Ormond, with regard to his Irish subjects, or that he contemplated the possibility of obtaining a large force from Ireland on the faith of a mock treaty, which he could disclaim whenever it might be his convenience ; thus balancing his Irish against his English subjects, making Ormond the instrument of his purposes against the latter, while the credulous Glamorgan would be struggling to conciliate the Irish confederacy. The dissimulation and insincerity of Ormond, however, are most obvious through every stage of this miserable struggle ; and the unfortunate king seems to be the victim which this hypocritical servant willingly offers up to the fury of

English democracy. The battle of Naseby, in which the royal forces were defeated, developed the true character of Ormond; for it appears that the private instructions of Charles, which were discovered in the king's cabinet at Naseby, empowered Ormond to conclude a peace with the Irish on whatever terms the Irish might please to dictate, consistent with their allegiance to his majesty. The letter of instructions was published, with such observations as laid open the deep and designing plans of Ormond.

The state of parties in Ireland and England at this period is well described by Mr Taaffe; a description which satisfactorily accounts for that duplicity which Ormond so successfully practised for his friends in the English parliament, to the ruin of the Irish and his unfortunate sovereign, to whom he affected such incorruptible fidelity. It also vindicates those Irishmen who had the sagacity to sound the real objects of Ormond, and the spirit to resist them. Unfortunately for Ireland, the owners of the estates forfeited from the ancient Irish, sat in the assembly of Kilkenny, who clung to English connection on any terms of humiliation and bondage as their fancied security for retaining possession; little foreseeing that they were only keepers on them, until swarms of Irish would come to demand and seize them. It was the misfortune of the Irish, that the liberties of their country depended upon the firmness of those, whose immediate interests were entwined with the security of that government which had so long oppressed them.

The gold of England effected what its physical power had in vain attempted ; and in the assembly of Kilkenny, the richest and the most ennobled catholics were to be found, who basely ministered to the designs of the common enemy. Their servility and want of spirit assumed the titles of prudence and expediency, and the men who had the integrity and the courage to insist upon the unqualified emancipation of their countrymen, were branded by the degraded supporters of Ormond, with an unthinking violence, and an unreflecting intemperance. Ormond, artful and corrupt, well knew the nature and quality of the materials he had to work upon. He flattered the vain, he bullied the timid, and deceived the honest and undesigning. The artifices of Ormond, the oscillations between his sovereign and the English parliament ; his insincerity to the Irish, and his studied watchfulness for his own immediate aggrandizement, are well remarked upon by Mr Taaffe. “ Before we pursue Ormond,” (says this writer), “ through all the labyrinth of his tortuous politics, now negotiating with the Irish, then with the covenanters of Ulster ; acting ostensibly as the king’s deputy, but in true earnest as the cringing slave of his enemies, until he surrendered Ireland naked and divided into their hands ; we must review the conduct of the loyalists, and how far they contributed by their divisions, their consequent tardiness, and half measures, to their own country’s ruin. To have a conception of their proceedings and their effects, it will be necessary to take a concise view of the different parties in the

two islands, their views and expectations, when the rupture about the peace took place. The royal party in the neighbouring island was crushed, and the rebels triumphed. The king, reduced to despondency, and deluded by the flattering invitations and promises of the Scotch rebels, surrendered himself into their hands, who kept him a close prisoner, with a view of *making the most of their prey*. These were averse to either cessation of arms or peace in Ireland, for two reasons. First, it was only in times of trouble that they could turn possession of the king's person to account; and an Irish peace, accompanied with the utter overthrow of the royalists in England, by putting a period to the war, and indeed removing all pretences for its continuance, might lead to a settlement in both islands. Further, they had been promised the plunder and forfeitures of Ireland by the English parliament; of both which lucrative objects an Irish peace threatened to deprive them. The English parliament was an enemy to the settlement of Ireland, until they should settle it on a model of their own fashion. The king had left heirs, who would of course set up their claims to the throne. Their pretensions might be supported by foreign powers, and (Ireland in its present state) a dangerous nest of royalists, lay as a convenient back door to receive them, and furnish them with great resources, and opportunities for invading England and Scotland. A great revolution in landed property appeared to them necessary; vast forfeitures; the erection of a new landed interest; fresh plantations of colo-

nists, armed, and covenanters. To bridle a disarmed and oppressed people, appeared the best and only means of obviating the danger from that quarter; hence it is plain, that though they disliked not a temporary truce with the Irish, especially such as Ormond contrived, of a nature to divide them, they would never ratify a peace advantageous or satisfactory to the Irish—any that left things there in their actual state. Charles, since the battle of Naseby, looked on his case as extremely doubtful, and countermanded the sending auxiliary troops from Ireland a good while before his captivity; ordering Ormond nevertheless to conclude the peace with the Irish. His Scotch subjects having deceived him by their fallacious promises of restoring to him his rights, either by treaty or by force, he saw no asylum for himself or his family but in the loyalty of the Irish. There he might expect such succour from foreign powers, interested to support the cause of royalty, and chastise every example of rebellion in subjects, as might enable him to reconquer his other kingdoms, or at worst, protect his throne in one. He found some means of conveying his wishes to the nuncio and Glamorgan, who were plotting to devise some means of effecting his escape from the Scotch to the Irish; but they were frustrated. From this brief statement of parties, a statement which all authorities of all parties justify, the reader will perceive that the opposers of the so called peace of 1643 are not dealt fairly with in any writings that I could see.”

The inflexible temper of Ormond towards the Irish

confederacy, which would yield to no terms but those which left the religion of the Irish at the mercy of the fanatic, obliged Charles to have recourse to the demi-official agency of the Earl of Glamorgan. We say demi-official, because Charles, the perpetual victim of expedients, was so unprincipled as to disclaim publicly having given any powers to Glamorgan to guarantee the toleration of their religion. The pope's nuncio remonstrated against the idea of a separate negociation with Glamorgan, foretold its future futility, and deprecated its present folly. He recommended the Irish to insist on the establishment of their civil and religious liberty openly, candidly, and through the only accredited agent of the king, the Marquis of Ormond. The treaty with Glamorgan, however, went on, and was quickly concluded. The council of Kilkenny trusted to the royal promises, and in the generous effervescence of an honourable credulity, pledged their lives and fortunes in support of the royal cause. On the part of Charles, it was agreed by Glamorgan, that all Roman catholics should enjoy the public exercise of their religion, possess all the churches not actually enjoyed by Protestants, exercise their own jurisdiction, and be exempted from that of the Protestant clergy ; that an act of parliament should be made to confirm these concessions, and to render catholics capable of all offices of trust or emolument ; that the Marquis of Ormond should not disturb the catholics in these or other articles to which the Earl of Glamorgan had consented :—for the due performance of all those ar-

articles Glamorgan engaged the royal word. The Irish council met their sovereign with corresponding sentiments of generous and enthusiastic gratitude; the bravest and best blood of their country was ready to stand forward in his defence; ten thousand men were ordered to attend the king in any part of his dominions; and the clergy offered two thirds of their revenue to maintain this formidable army. This private treaty, (disgraceful to the Irish, because it was private), was entered upon on the 25th day of August 1645. The public treaty by which the king was bound in the presence of Europe, went on with as much austerity on the part of Ormond, as if he was unconscious of the royal disposition towards the Irish. The fact was, Ormond wished to deceive the parliament of England and his sovereign; and Charles and his credulous agent, Glamorgan, wished to deceive the Irish nation. The consequence was, what it will ever be, the confusion and destruction of those who surrender the plain honest principles of candour and fair dealing to trick, finesse, and duplicity. Mr Leland is angry with the Irish for daring to insist, in their public treaty with Ormond, on the restoration of their religious establishment. "The propositions of the Irish council were extravagant and insidious, amounting to nothing less than a legal establishment not only of the Roman worship, but the papal jurisdiction." Mr Leland should have considered, that at this period the property as well as the numbers in Ireland were catholic; and that if England had a right to set up a religion of its own manufac-

ture, and after its own taste, the Irish had as good a right to insist on the restoration of that religion, in all its splendour, which Ireland had professed for 1200 years. Will it be urged that the Irish catholics, who, in property as well as in number, were as nineteen to twenty, had not as much right to preserve their religion, or that they had not as equitable a claim to its establishment, as episcopalian and presbyterian protestantism had in England? The enlightened sectarian must smile at the little spirit of ascendancy which so often breaks out in the pages of this historical protestant divine. If ever any people had the right to lay down, for posterity, a religious establishment by which to regulate their conscience, the Irish people had that right; and their representatives in the assembly of Kilkenny were only performing their duty, when they insisted on the free exercise of their religion, and the re-establishment of their religious houses in all their former splendour and magnificence. It was the exercise of this right that gave to Mr Leland the form of religion which he so much admires. It was the parent of the reformation, and should not be denied to the venerated descendant of Christianity.

This patched up and garbled peace, publicly bad, and privately good, was strongly objected to by the best friends of Ireland. They saw no security for the fulfilment of the conditions for which they took up arms; their religion was as much under the yoke as ever; their penal statutes were still unrepealed, and the sword was drawn in vain for the

liberty of Ireland. The miserable insincerity of Charles is prominent throughout all his negociations with the Irish through the medium of Ormond and Glamorgan. He laboured to keep well with both parties, the English parliament and the people of Ireland. He would have made Ormond his instrument of deception against the English, and he could willingly sacrifice Glamorgan to the chance of conciliating his Irish subjects. When the commission given by Charles to Glamorgan to negotiate with the Irish for the toleration of their religion, and the restoration of its establishments, was discovered, we find the Earl of Glamorgan thrown into prison, in order to protect the king against the suspicions of his enemies, though Ormond was well aware that Glamorgan did not exceed the powers he received from his sovereign. But Glamorgan is not only thrown into prison to expiate his offence against the king, but Charles himself has the confidence to disavow, in his declaration to the English parliament, the very powers with which he agreed a short time before to invest him. In the true jesuitical spirit he writes to Ormond: "It is possible we might have thought fit to give the Earl of Glamorgan such credentials as might give him credit with the Roman catholics, in case you, the lieutenant, should find occasion to make use of him as a further assurance to them of what you should privately promise, or in case you should judge it necessary for their greater confidence to manage those matters apart by him." Charles not only humiliates Glamorgan into the humble instrument of his du-

plicity, but consents to sacrifice his character to the rancour of his most inveterate enemies. "He regrets that he had not employed a wiser man; repeats his assurances, that as he had not much regard to the abilities of Glamorgan, he had bound him to take directions from the lieutenant, both in the matter and manner of his negociation; and commands the inquiry into his instructions to Glamorgan to be rigidly prosecuted." The moment Charles was thus writing to Ormond, and his council in Ireland, he was secretly giving instructions to Ormond to protect Glamorgan; and to the latter he was communicating the strongest professions of friendship and regard. This perpetual course of hypocrisy which distinguished the councils of the unhappy Charles, were the chief cause of his ruin, and the ruin of his friends. It is an unanswerable vindication of those among the Irish, who would not surrender to any terms short of the unequivocal concession of religious and civil liberty, not secured by the word of a king who had so often deceived, but by an act of the legislature which could not be misinterpreted nor retracted. However honourable the anxiety of that party was, who did not wish to press Charles for those conditions which the oath of association bound the Irish nation to demand, it is impossible not to admit, that with their experience of the royal insincerity, and with their knowledge of the royal necessities, those who advised an explicit recognition of Irish rights, religious as well as civil, stood upon ground which common sense must acknowledge to be invincible.

The zeal of Glamorgan to satisfy the doubts and suspicions of the Irish confederacy; the oscillating councils of Charles to both his negociators, Ormond and Glamorgan; the pressure of his English enemies; the strength of the Irish confederacy, and its present importance in the royal scale, all contributed to animate the advisers of unconditional and unequivocal freedom, to persevere in their demands, and to insist upon the rigid performance of their claims. Such was the miserable indecision of the royal councils, that the time was consumed in hypocritical negociation, which should have been employed in sending forward that assistance which Ireland could have greatly afforded to their distressed monarch. Ireland wanted nothing more than the restoration of her rights; and though she was the last refuge of Charles against his rebellious subjects of England, yet so infatuated was the policy which directed his affairs, that dissimulation and trick seemed to be the only resources of the royal councils in the greatest extremity of their distress. The sympathy of the Irish confederacy with the sufferings of their embarrassed sovereign, induced them to yield to the promises of Ormond; and the sincerity of their loyalty to Charles prompted them to relax in those conditions which a wise and enlightened policy would have generously conceded. That treaty of peace was finally concluded on the 28th of March, 1646, in which the Irish stipulated to transport 10,000 men to the support of the royal cause. The time of action in England had gone by, the enemies of Charles were triumph-

ant, and the protection of his Irish dominions was now the principal object to be attended to. The Irish confederacy, honourable in their professions of attachment to their king, immediately proposed to Ormond that the Irish and the royal forces should be united in the common cause, and that Ormond should accept the command of the united army. The conditions demanded by the artful Ormond before he would subscribe to this generous and honest proposal, fully developpe the character of this nobleman, and satisfactorily confirm the suspicions which the reader must have hitherto entertained of his sincerity in the cause of his sovereign. Though the parliamentarians, under the command of the bigotted and sanguinary Sir Charles Coote, were wasting the west of Ireland with fire and sword, Ormond hesitated to embrace a proposal which must have secured the triumph of his master. He required that the articles agreed to between the Irish and the Earl of Glamorgan, and which pledged the royal word to the toleration of the catholic religion in Ireland, should be suppressed; that they were disavowed by the king, and that he could not suffer their publication; that if they did not subscribe to this condition, such were the circumstances of his sovereign, that he should be obliged to have recourse to some other mode of preserving his authority in Ireland. This declaration alarmed that part of the Irish confederacy who were most forward to conclude the treaty with Ormond. It confirmed the suspicions of those who cautioned the confederacy against his

artifices; it gave confidence to Rinuccini, who, with the great majority of the Irish clergy, adhered to the letter of that oath by which they associated for the establishment of their freedom.

“The parliamentarians of Munster,” says Mr Leland, and in this assertion we cannot be better supported, “in the fulness of their zeal, would be contented only with the extirpation of popery and the rebellious Irish race.” They would, therefore, not be easily prevailed on to agree to a treaty which conceded even existence to a catholic. The nuncio, Rinuccini, who in many instances usurped too much power, and displayed too much arrogance, was correct in the judgment which he gave of the stability of any treaty concluded on the conditions prescribed by Ormond. He resolutely remonstrated against it, and raised up a powerful opposition among the clergy and the nation against its continuance. Owen O’Neal denounced the treaty; at the head of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, he joined the standard of the nuncio; and in the celebrated battle of Benburbe, near the Blackwater, routed the English and Scotch army with immense slaughter. The Scotch were commanded by Munroe, who fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving his arms, tents, and baggage, to the victorious Irish. The army of Owen O’Neal quickly increased its numbers; victory covered him with fame, and the hope of freedom once more beamed on every Irish heart.

The nuncio co-operated with O’Neal, in bringing to his aid all the thunders of the church against

the supporters of a treaty which effected nothing for the Irish;* which left them at the mercy of their ene-

* Party writers (we mean those writers who have been paid to traduce every effort in favour of Irish freedom), have so misrepresented the conduct of the native Irish who co-operated with Rinuccini in unveiling the hypocrisy of Ormond, and exposing the fallacy of the treaty of peace which this wily lieutenant induced the confederated council, assembled at Kilkenny, to conclude with him, that we feel it a duty we owe to the cause of truth, and of our country, to detain our readers for a few moments, while we state two or three propositions, conclusive, in our minds, of the wisdom and the spirit which distinguished those men who opposed the Ormondists of Ireland in the year 1646—in Carte's life of Ormond, will be found the following remarks: "The nuncio, Rinuccini, and Owen O'Neal, absolutely refused to submit to the treaty; the former, because there was no provision made for the free exercise of the catholic religion, without which, the confederates were engaged by their oath of association, never to conclude a peace; and the latter, on the same account, as well as that no stipulation was made for restoring him and his numerous followers to their forfeited estates in Ulster. The nuncio alleged, besides, that the commissioners who had concluded the peace, did not, according to their instructions, insist upon the repeal of the penal statutes against the Roman catholic religion.—The Marquis of Ormond could not deny the fact, but he maintained (and here we request the reader's attention to the acute sophistry of the Anglo-Irishman), that 'the peace which the confederate commissioners had concluded, by virtue of an authority derived from their general assembly, whether advantageous or prejudicial to those that hurtled them, ought to have been inviolably stuck to, how blameworthy soever they might be pretended for transgressing instructions.' This manner of reasoning, however, seems to have been taken up by his excellency only for present convenience, for he argued very differently on the same topic of instructions, when, in a former treaty with the confederates, the case was to be his own, and when, in order to justify his rejecting some of their propositions, he told them, that 'if he had exceeded

mies, and exposed them to the ridicule and contempt of Europe. Rinuccini convened the clergy at Water-

his instructions, he would have deluded those he treated with, with the shadow of concessions, for that the substance would be lost by his transgressing the rules given him, in any one particular.' But, however that might have been," continues Mr Carte, "the nuncio's casuistry differed materially from that of his excellency on this occasion, and therefore, that prelate resolved to enforce his opinion by such means as it appears he had neither commission nor instructions to pursue. Having called together, at Waterford, such of the Irish bishops and clergy as were mostly under his influence, on pretence of forming a synod to settle ecclesiastical matters, he entered all at once on a debate concerning the lawfulness of the late peace, and having soon determined, that all those who were instrumental in making it, were, for the reasons before mentioned, guilty of a formal breach of their association, he issued an excommunication against them, as also against those of their communion who should afterwards adhere to it, forbidding, under the same penalty, any further dues to be collected by, or paid to such persons as were formerly appointed to receive them, and giving encouragement at the same time to the people, to resist any force that might be used for that purpose."

Upon the above statement, Mr Taaffe has the following observations. When we were making this quotation from the valuable, because honest, history of Taaffe, we heard of the author's death, and the honours which his countrymen have it in contemplation to pay to the remains of their able but unfortunate historian. Perhaps there never was such a conflict of good and bad qualities to be found in any man, as was observable in Mr Taaffe. Animated with the most ardent enthusiasm for the independence and fame of his country, there was no toil so great, no danger so formidable, no enemy so powerful, as to intimidate his spirit, or to damp his ardour. A profound political thinker, he ably exposed the cause of his country's weakness, in many productions which attracted the attention of the first characters in the Irish senate. The writer of this history has heard his immortal countryman, John Philpot Curran, quote the lines of Mr Taaffe, from his

ford, who there proclaimed all those persons that adhered to the peace between the Irish confedera-

Mirror of Ireland, in 1796; and he has seen the Irish parliament caught with the strength and the truth of the quotation.

Mr Taaffe was a catholic clergyman, but his passions triumphed over the solemn obligation of his sacred profession, and his immoral example made it necessary to denounce against him the terrors of the religion which he disgraced. From his inflexible determination, however, never to embrace the creed of any other persuasion, at a time too, when his great talents commanded the attention of the highest and most exalted politicians in the land, we must, in charity, conclude that he was betrayed by the constitution of his nature, into a temporary abandonment of principle; that reflection brought on repentance, and that, though dismissed from the society of those whom he most respected, he resolved to convince his countrymen, that the enemies of the religion and liberty of his country should gain but little by his fall. Those who doubted his sincerity as a catholic, will not presume to deny him the meed of an honest, brave, and uncorrupted Irishman; a man whose talents have exposed the frauds, and the conspiracy of party writers, and whose political opinions, when his example as a priest shall be forgotten, will be engraven on every Irish heart, and perhaps hereafter be the rule and the guide of his countrymen. The faults of Mr Taaffe were rather the aberrations of a constitution heated to excess by the fire of its own creation, than a cold, calculating, selfish following of vice. Mr Taaffe has been often seen to shed tears over the errors of his life. The superstitiousness of virtue frequently drove from her door the penitent sinner, and Mr Taaffe has frequently been lashed by despair into a repetition of these foibles to which he originally fell a victim. In 1798, that calamitous season of Irish suffering, and English torture, when the informer and the executioner were panting for their prey, Mr Taaffe is well known to have enjoyed the confidence of his countrymen. The constant reader of Polybius, Xenophon, Marshal Saxe, and the King of Prussia, could not but be furnished with some information on military subjects. He made the experiment of his military genius in the rebellion of 1798; and hundreds will attest, that to his di-

cy and Ormond, as guilty of violating their oath of association. They excommunicated the commis-

rection and council alone, is to be attributed the *much lamented* fate of the ancient Britons, at Carnew, in the county of Wexford. Those who were in command among the Irish, bowed to his superior powers; and Mr Taaffe was seen marshalling his pike-men, on a weather-beaten mule, with as much indifference as Bonaparte rode his charger at the battle of Austerlitz. It is impossible any Irishman can read Mr Taaffe's history of this country, without lamenting for a man, who, when pressed down with distress, the victim of every slander, the detestation of every bigot, the fool of every blockhead, had the spirit and the integrity to resist the bribes of the Castle, and vindicate the honour of his country. It is impossible, we repeat, to refuse our tears over the grave of so singular a character. The bigot may dispose of him as he pleases; the enemy of Irish freedom may triumph over his ashes; but the true friend of Ireland will cherish his memory, and read his works. They will learn wisdom from his errors, as well as from his doctrines; and while they avoid his faults, endeavour to imitate his virtues.

The writer of this compendium has often contributed to soothe the mind of Mr Taaffe, when assailed by the heaviest of his afflictions.—He may boast of having endeavoured to blunt the edge of the bigot, and alleviate the sufferings of the patriot. He knew Mr Taaffe when the enemies of Ireland failed in corrupting him to their purpose; and he would now be doing injustice to his fame if he did not bear testimony to the triumph of his integrity.—But to return to the quotation which we have made from the history of our departed countryman: “The reason of the nuncio, Rinuccini, against the peace, was not refuted; that the commissioners widely departed from their instructions, on which account the assembly was not obliged to ratify. The reasons urged to the queen, in a letter from the archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and the bishop of Elphin, in the name of the congregation of the clergy, were quite sufficient to damn the treaty; ‘that all was left to the pleasure of the king, surround,

sioners who had negotiated the treaty with Ormond—denounced the council of Kilkenny—and

ed by their sworn enemies.' What worse could be dictated by a conqueror to a prostrate people? It was hard to surrender their rights, civil or religious, to the pleasure of any man, especially a prince of a different religion, not noted for keeping his word, or even his oath, and under the controul of their sworn enemies; and all this headlong slavery rushed into by the very men who, on taking up arms, swore never to lay them down until they obtained a full ratification of their rights. The arguments of the confederates, to reconcile the clergy to the omission of this article in the delusive treaty, were extremely futile. They refer to the private treaty of Glamorgan, which the king publicly disavowed in a message to both houses, and which, together with Glamorgan, his secret ambassador, he would consider a slight sacrifice towards an accommodation with his now victorious enemies. If William was, though the victorious deliverer of the English, obliged to give up to their selfishness and their national hatred of the Irish, the treaty of Limerick, can it be imagined that a subdued monarch, captive in the hands of his irritated and triumphant subjects, could stickle for private engagements made with a people odious to them, whom at any rate they were resolved to crush. Equally or more absurd is it to refer to concessions which the king might make hereafter. The king's restoration could not reasonably be expected but by the sword or accommodation. If by the former, of which there was not the slightest probability, he would become an absolute monarch; and what use he might make of unlimited power they might conjecture from his having plundered the Irish for many years, by his tyrannic inquisition into defective titles; if the latter, the Irish must be given up to their sworn enemies; no parole engagements would be acknowledged, no public treaties held binding. The nuncio and the clergy insisted on an honourable peace, such as might be well received and abetted by the whole nation; a treaty that would be approved by the head of the church and other catholic po-

bound themselves, by a new oath, never to lay down their arms until they had secured their civil and religious rights.

The Ormondists, for so were the Irish adherents to the peace now called, fled to Dublin, with the tentates, able and willing to assist the Irish, if they saw them sincere and earnest in their endeavours to support the cause of royalty and their religion. The abandonment of one of these, in a public treaty, and that considered in an age of bigotry the most important, was enough to drown the Irish cause with the catholic powers of Europe, who must consider their dereliction of their just demand of a claim to the toleration of the catholic faith, in a solemn treaty, while they were craving the aid of catholic princes for the maintenance of their church, as egregious folly and downright imprudence. Those who are so hasty to reprove the Irish clergy for insisting on the confederates to keep to their oath of association, and accept no peace that did not include the toleration of their religion, seem neither guided by candour or love of truth. They should first prove that the clergy stepped beyond the limits of their office; and, secondly, required impracticable terms—neither can be proved. It is hard to prove that it is foreign to the character of a clergyman to procure toleration for his flock, or that the Irish were then incompetent to obtain it, if unanimous in the demand. Let the clergy of the opposite parties be compared. In England and Scotland the pulpit thundered treason, sedition, persecution. No writer has ventured to condemn the opposition of Owen O'Neal to that treaty—with what colour could they? At a time when England and Scotland were in arms for their privileges, and the Irish confederates contending for their civil and religious liberties, was it for the brave men of Ulster to relinquish their claims to their patrimonial estates, swindled from them? The Ultonians could not, and ought not, approve of any treaty that did not stipulate an entire restitution of their patrimonial estates. Here was the blow. The majority of the assembly were possessed of forfeited estates, and restitution to

earl at their head. Owen O'Neal, Rinuccini, and the Irish army, took possession of Kilkenny. The nuncio assumed the direction of Irish affairs, appointed a council, and selected his generals. So formidable was his power, that Glamorgan became his vassal ; and even Charles flattered himself with the hope of finding protection under his authority. The Irish had now taken a station better calculated, under prudent and spirited councils, to accomplish the liberty of Ireland, than any we have yet witnessed. There were no connections in the new Irish association, which could corrupt by their influence, or betray by their insincerity. The men who now took the lead were the *old Irish*, as Mr Leland calls them ; the most determined, and the most devoted to the cause of Irish liberty. It is true, they acknowledged the authority of Rinuccini, the pope's nuncio ; and it may here be asked, why not acknowledge his authority ? Rinuccini had brought them money and arms ; he had procured the aid of foreign powers ; he was zealous, able, and eloquent ; capable of filling the high station in which he was placed, and possessing the unlimited confidence of the power which commissioned him ; the Irish therefore submitted to his councils, in common with those of their most distinguished countrymen. Ormond's resources were

Owen O'Neal would encourage other claims, consequently civil war, of which the Ormondists and advocates of that scandalous treaty were the real promoters, not the Irish clergy, or the disinherited Milesians of Ulster."

exhausted; his duplicity was defeated; his services to his unfortunate sovereign were fruitless, because insincere; and so little of zeal had he for the royal cause, that, rather than strike to the demands of the Irish, to which Charles had often secretly desired him to concede, he surrendered to the bitterest enemies of his sovereign—to those men, and that nation, which could only be satiated with his blood, and the ruin and destruction of that unfortunate family.

Ormond applied to the English parliament, represented his distress, the insecurity of English power in Ireland, and the immediate necessity of a force to preserve it. The parliament ordered two thousand foot and three hundred horse to go forward immediately for Dublin. In the meantime, the Irish army, amounting to sixteen thousand foot and six hundred horse, with O'Neal at their head, marched to the siege of Dublin. Preston commanded the Leinster forces; and those two generals, if united, might have determined the fate of their country. It appears that Preston was vain, credulous, and violent; that O'Neal was cautious, watchful, and jealous of every overture made by Ormond, or any of his friends. The latter calculated on gaining upon the weakness of Preston; and thus, by division, blasting the fairest prospects Ireland ever enjoyed. While the Irish were negotiating, the army of the English parliament were marching to the support of Ormond. The English arrive in Dublin, and O'Neal retires with his army. Preston continues an idle negotiation with

Ormond, and the opportunity of action is lost. Though Preston was willing to betray the Irish cause, yet he could not influence his officers to follow his example. They would not abandon their true, uncompromising countrymen, under the command of O'Neal. The feeble mind of Preston once more changed, and again he is seen taking his place under the standard of the Irish council at Kilkenny. The latter send forward their ultimate propositions of peace to Ormond, characterized by their wonted spirit, being an unequivocal and unconditional assertion of civil and religious freedom. This was too much for the loyal Ormond; he preferred the degradation and humility of his persecuted sovereign to the liberties of his country, and consented to arm those hands with the sword which, he well knew, would willingly sheath it in the bosom of the unfortunate Charles. He concludes his treaty with the English parliament, and sends forward his second son, Lord Richard Butler, the Earl of Roscommon, Colonel Chichester, and Sir James Ware, as hostages for the faithful performance of his stipulations.—The articles were signed on the 19th of June 1647, and the English parliament immediately became masters of the Irish metropolis.

On the departure of Ormond from Ireland, faction seemed to raise her head with multiplied terrors to the people. They were now visited by a rapacious and insatiable enemy, who thirsted for the extinction of the Irish name. The royalists, parliamentarians, and Irish, tore the country to

pieces ; and the jealousies, rivalships, and enmities of those who should have been leagued in the common cause, completed the victory of the English. The precipitate zeal of Rinuccini frequently defeated the steady and judicious valour of Owen O'Neal ; and the half loyal and half patriotic leaders of the confederate army exposed them to their more decided, although less powerful opponents. Owen O'Neal would sometimes rejoice in the disappointment of the royal hopes, though the success of the latter would have contributed to promote his own favourite object of Irish freedom ; and so infatuated were the leaders of the confederacy, that they could smile at the defeats of Owen O'Neal, and the triumphs of their country's enemies.— That a people wretchedly divided could succeed against the well combined efforts of England, would be weakness to suppose. Ireland was doomed to be the prey of her own divisions ; and though possessed of strength sufficient to struggle with the world, we shall see her the victim of folly and indecision. The leaders of the confederate army were Preston and Lord Taaffe. Those men should be considered more as the champions of Ormond and the king, than the defenders of their country, or the assertors of its rights. They idly identified the royal interests with Irish liberty, and weakly conceived that what promoted the one established the other. It is not surprising, therefore, that Owen O'Neal, whose language was always intelligible, whose cause was plain, clear and unequivocal ; who never mingled the question of

his country's freedom with the royal interests; who drew his sword solely for his country—it is not very wonderful that such a man should hesitate to rejoice in the victories of Preston or Lord Taaffe. The fatal battles at Dungan-hill in Leinster, and Knocknoness in Munster, in which the confederates sustained a decisive defeat, broke down their spirit, and compelled them to make another attempt at negociation. The general assembly was summoned at Kilkenny; and notwithstanding the vehement opposition of Rinuccini, they resolved to send agents to the Queen and Prince of Wales, then residing in France. The nuncio and Owen O'Neal, on the other hand, proposed sending ambassadors to the courts of Rome and Madrid.—They truly insisted that all future communications with the royal family would be an idle waste of time; that the Queen and the Prince would be no security to Ireland for the faithful fulfilment of those conditions which ought to be conceded, supposing either the Queen or Prince willing to grant them; and that the question was no longer the re-establishment of Charles, but the establishment of Irish liberty. Such reasoning did not convince the partizans of royalty; the general assembly agreed to send forward their deputies to the Queen and Prince of Wales, who were then in Paris. The predictions of the nuncio and the Irish leaders were amply verified. Their old, artful, wily negociator, Ormond, was the chief counsellor of the Queen. He had fled from England, either from fear or policy. It is impossible that the

solid services which he had rendered to the enemies of his master could so soon have been forgotten. Perhaps, as the adviser of the Queen and Prince of Wales, he could once more demonstrate his zeal against the liberty of Ireland. We shall find him practising the same dexterity, the same half measures, which destroyed his sovereign's authority in Ireland. He succeeded in poisoning the minds of the Queen and the Prince against the nuncio and Owen O'Neal, and procured his appointment to the lieutenancy of Ireland in 1648.

During these puerile negotiations in France, in which the interests of the royal family and their crafty adviser, Ormond, were alone concerned, the supreme council of Kilkenny, which at this period consisted of the opponents of Owen O'Neal, were greatly dismayed at the alarming aspect of their affairs. Through the medium of Ormond, they struggle to gain over to their side the neglected Lord Inchiquin, who commanded the parliamentary forces. A powerful confederacy between him, Preston, Lord Taaffe, and Ormond, was formed by the machinations of the latter, to procure a cessation of arms, and to ratify a peace on such fair and reasonable conditions, as every temperate Irishman could wish for; or, in other words, another effort was to be made by Ormond to sacrifice the Irish cause to the supposed interests of the royal family.

Owen O'Neal and the nuncio opposed the cessation with increased zeal, and proclaimed those who gave it their support unworthy the name of Irish-

men. Mr Leland says, that neither the people nor clergy yielded at this period to the threats of the nuncio ; that his excommunications had lost their terrors ; and that two archbishops, two bishops, all the secular clergy of their dioceses, all the Jesuits and Carmelites, many of the Augustinians and Dominicans, and above 500 Franciscans, protested against the violence of the Pope's nuncio. This may be all true ; but independent of the crowds of unbought and fearless clergymen, who supported the nuncio and Owen O'Neal in their opposition to a cessation founded on the hypocritical professions of men who had so often betrayed the Irish, common sense proclaims the wisdom of the nuncio's conduct on this occasion, and the stupid, or rather the corrupt credulity of the Ormondists. The confederate leaders turned their arms against their countrymen, and the parliamentarians were gratified with the glorious prospect of civil war. Lord Taaffe, and Preston, and Clanrickard, are now seen drawing their swords against their allies of yesterday ; and the Irish reader may easily conceive the mortifying spectacle, which such fatuity must have presented to every honest and reflecting observer.

It was a strange revolution to witness a friendly communication between Owen O'Neal and Jones, the general of the parliamentary forces, then quartered in Dublin. Such was the inveterate rancour of hostility which existed between the confederate leaders and Owen O'Neal, that the common enemy was embraced by the latter, to revenge himself on those whom he considered Ireland's greatest ene-

mies, namely, the Ormondists. He formed the bold design of marching to Kilkenny, and seizing the whole supreme council of the confederates. Such was the situation of things in Ireland, when Ormond arrived at Cork from France. Every succeeding day increased the pressure of his sovereign's difficulties, and every effort should now be made to strengthen the royal party in Ireland.—Alas! the time for an efficient and decisive exertion in Ireland had gone by; the feelings of the nation were trifled with; their demand of right was rejected with disdain; and now the period had arrived when the royal misfortunes extorted from the representative of the king those concessions which should have been given with cheerfulness, and would have been accepted with gratitude.

The soldiers of Cromwell were now clamouring for the blood of the king: the fatal information was conveyed to the leaders of the Irish confederacy; its effect was sudden and powerful. The persecution of the king united every heart, and gave new energy to every hand; all objections to a complete recognition of Irish privileges were removed, and those concessions which Ormond conceived himself so prudent in rejecting at a former period, were granted with a feverish precipitation: all the penal statutes were to be repealed, and the catholics left to the free exercise of their religion. Such a concession, two years before, might have saved the life of Charles, and extinguished the rebellion of Englishmen; Ormond's half measures prevented so happy a determination. Twelve commissioners were

named by the general assembly, called commissioners of trust, whose duty it was to take care that the articles of peace should be duly performed. They were to have a joint authority with Ormond, and only to be dissolved by an act of parliament which would ratify the freedom they had succeeded in establishing. In the mean time Charles I. fell a victim to his enemies, and all those visions of relief with which he flattered himself from his Irish subjects vanished into air. Ormond immediately proclaimed the Prince of Wales king; the heart of every Irishman re-echoed the sound, and every bosom burned with vengeance against the insatiable cruelty which pursued their sovereign to the scaffold.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

COMMONWEALTH.

A. D. 1649. **THE** struggles of Ormond, and his commissioners of trust, were marked with the same undecided character that distinguished all his former efforts. Ormond's great object was to unite all parties, if possible, in support of the common cause; that the enemies of Charles II., and the murderers of his father, should be hereafter considered the only enemies of Ireland; and that every concession should be made to conciliate the most austere and rigid assertors of Irish freedom. For this purpose, Ormond would not hesitate to shake hands with Owen O'Neal; but so infatuated were the confederate council of Kilkenny, that they not only refused to coalesce with this gallant and generous soldier, * but actually proclaimed him a traitor.

* Mr Taaffe, speaking of the infatuated conduct which distinguished the confederate council at Kilkenny, and of their ingratitude to Owen O'Neal, their most illustrious leader, has the following animated observations: "What welcome news to the co-

Owen O'Neal, disgusted with such miserable policy, intrigued with the parliamentary forces, relieved

venanters of England, Ireland, and Scotland! The illustrious hero of Ireland, Owen Roe O'Neal, crowned with laurels on the continent; the only name on the military staff of Ireland formidable to its enemies; who had the praise even of his enemies, both at home and abroad; the lineal descendant and rightful heir of so many kings and monarchs of Ireland; of a race almost always its ornament and bulwark; munificent patrons of arts and sciences; favourers of the muses; all that essentially grace and adorn human life; champions of the faith; protectors of the weak; and unequivocal and unbending assertors of Irish rights; Owen Roe O'Neal, the only true champion, the shield and right hand of Erin, is declared a rebel and a traitor! This was hard treatment to those gallant Irish officers, who quitted foreign service, when promotions, honours, and honourable family alliances were open on the continent, to assist their countrymen in their late struggle for their liberties. Such an act of folly was fatal to Ireland; by it, the confederates damned their cause, and surrendered themselves and their country into the hands of their enemies. They did that which the English Parliament, Cromwell, Coote, Ormond, and all the open and covert enemies of Ireland, wished. They delivered Sampson into the hands of the Philistines, and the latter took care to destroy the man who was the terror of all the popish and covenanting enemies of Ireland.

“ Sir Charles Coote, holding Derry for the parliament, and being sorely pressed for want of provisions, having sustained a long siege from the Lord of Ardes, who commanded the royalist army, contrived to send a messenger to O'Neal. Having heard of his being proclaimed a traitor and rebel, and knowing, consequently, that he must be distressed for money to pay his troops, he offered him a large sum, on the condition that O'Neal relieved him. Owen, indignant at the outrage offered to him and his brave troops, marched to raise the siege. The Lord of Ardes, not thinking it prudent to wait his arrival, departed from before Derry hastily. Owen Roe O'Neal was received with every appearance of friendship into the town. A ball and supper was prepared for

their distresses, and contributed indirectly to the overthrow of the hopes of the confederacy. Ormond besieges Dublin, and is repulsed with immense loss. The parliament of England turn their whole and undivided attention towards Ireland, the last refuge of the royal family. They send forward Cromwell, at the head of eight thousand foot and four thousand horse, with an ample supply of money, a formidable train of artillery, and all other necessities of war. Cromwell commenced his barbarous warfare in Ireland by the siege and the destruction of Drogheda. He basely butchered the inhabitants. After a promise of quarter to the brave defenders of the town, he permitted his fanatical soldiers to slaughter them, when stripped of their arms and

the entertainment of the deliverer of Derry; and he received a present of a pair of russet boots, in order to dance with a young lady who was particularly anxious to enjoy the honour of that diversion with the great man. Supper being ended, he danced with her and some others, until he fell into a perspiration, and was completely exhausted. He soon after retired to bed, fell sick, and in a few days expired. Whether the popular opinion of his having been presented with a pair of poisoned boots, be well founded, still rests on conjecture—yet I think the probabilities favour that opinion. Coote was a mortal enemy to Irish papists. He had engaged for a large sum, which perhaps he was unable to pay, and the general at the head of his forces could compel payment or make reprisals.” Mr Taaffe concludes, that Coote conspired to destroy his great and powerful ally. We are unwilling to attribute the sudden death of Owen O’Neal, however formidable either his talents or power, to the cause suggested by Mr Taaffe. Coote was, at this period, most peculiarly interested in his safety; and the stupid denunciations of the Irish confederacy against O’Neal, were the best possible security for his fidelity.

incapable of defence. For five days this hideous and cowardly murder was continued, under the direct orders of this hypocritical Englishman; but thirty persons remained unslaughtered by an enemy glutted and oppressed with carnage; and Borlase says, that even these miserable thirty were transported as slaves to Barbadoes. Such were the effects of a policy dictated by the furious spirit of fanaticism, urged on by national hatred and contempt. With such facts before the contemplation of Ireland, will a rational Englishman wonder that an Irishman should give utterance to his political feelings in the language of the bitterest indignation—yet all this desperate and murderous violence of Cromwell would have availed but little, had it not been for the wretched divisions of the confederates. Even this dreadful calamity with which their country was now visited, was insufficient to induce them to the adoption of any manly generous principles of action. The wolf was suffered to prowl and continue his bloody course among the unprotected flock, while the drunken shepherds were either disputing about their booty, or perhaps speculating on the slaughter of each other. Cromwell went on, and vigorously took advantage of the folly which surrounded him; he artfully held out the hope of religious toleration; intrigued with the principal leaders among the Irish; and by force and stratagem succeeded in the capture of Wexford, Waterford, and Ross. The duplicity practised by Ormond on the people of Ireland was signally punished by their present indifference to the result of the

conflict between him and Cromwell ; well and truly did they say, that they saw but little difference between the cause of Charles and the English Parliament ; both promised freedom, civil and religious, and experience told them that the word of Ormond was not to be relied on.

Under such circumstances, and with a nation so disposed, the victory of Cromwell, at the head of a well organized army, undivided in sentiment, animated by the hope of plunder, and the zeal of bigotry, was as certain as it was easy. All the principal towns of Munster surrendered to his arms, (1650) and the cause of Charles in the west of Ireland seemed to be irretrievably blasted. Clonmel was the only place which could be considered a serious impediment to the triumphant career of Cromwell's arms. A very interesting and remarkable instance of individual heroism occurred there, which should not yield to the achievement of the Roman general ; and which, if performed in ancient days, would have enjoyed the immortality of a classic historian. Hugh O'Neal, a northern officer, with twelve hundred of his provincials, maintained the town with such valour, that on the first assault two thousand of the besiegers lost their lives. " The Romish bishop of Ross," says Mr Leland, " who was particularly active in raising and animating the besieged to this singular defence of their town, was taken prisoner in one of the assaults." A man so distinguished by his determination to resist the English depredators could expect but little mercy. His life, however, was offer-

ed him, on condition that he should use his spiritual authority with the garrison of a fort adjacent to the field of battle, and prevail on them to surrender. For this purpose the bishop of Ross was conducted to the fort; but the gallant captive, unshaken by the fear of death, and unmoved by the denunciations of vengeance, exhorted the garrison to maintain their post resolutely against the enemies of their religion and their country, and instantly resigned himself to execution. Mr Leland observes, with honest indignation, that “the bishop’s enemies could discover nothing in his conduct but insolence and obstinacy;” yet such was the insolence of Regulus, whose name has been preserved by the Roman historian as an example of the most exalted courage and inflexible integrity. The page of Irish suffering affords a thousand subjects of equal admiration to the reader; but the injustice which doomed the heroes of our country to deaths of dishonour, has also buried in oblivion their names; and here and there only do we discern an attestation to the greatness of their spirit and their valour, extorted from the reluctant pen of a venal historian. Clonmel was at length obliged, after an obstinate and sanguinary siege, to yield to the terms of Cromwell. This last conquest closed the Irish campaign of Cromwell; he resigned his triumphant army to the care of Ireton, and immediately embarked for England. It appears tolerably clear to the reader of these pages, that the great cause of Irish disaster was the want of confidence in the general who commanded them; that when.

ever the Irish fought under the standard of such an officer as O'Neal, who possessed the hearts and affections of the people, victory crowned their valour; and that whenever they were obliged to surrender to superior numbers, or superior military resources, the enemy dearly purchased his triumph and his spoils.

The historians of the pale attribute the rapidity of Cromwell's progress to the factions of the Irish; to the intrigues of the priesthood; to their intolerant arrogance, and their ungovernable ignorance. The writer of this compendium must rather attribute the inglorious struggles of the Irish against the desperate and sanguinary sword of puritanical fanaticism, to the half expedients of Ormond, who endeavoured to balance himself between the king, the English parliament, and the Irish people; who had already, as we have seen, incurred the suspicions of the latter, and now laboured in vain to bring into action the various conflicting parties which struggled for ascendancy. The councils of such a man accelerated the progress of the common enemy, and palsied the Irish arm. Were it not for this cause, the Irish could, on the departure of Cromwell, have made a successful stand against England; they were still in possession of the entire province of Connaught; Waterford, Limerick and Galway, were in their hands; they possessed the forts of Duncannon and Sligo: the castles of Athlone, Charlemont, Carlow, and Nenagh; their numbers were considerable, and the spirit by which each Irish bosom was animated was

equal to any enterprize, however arduous or desperate. The brave Owen Roe O'Neal no longer existed to point out their road to victory. The loyal Marquis of Ormond, struggling more zealously for ascendancy over the Irish priesthood than for victory over the arms of Cromwell, was the ill-fated director of those energies which, judiciously and honestly guided, would never have been conquered. Even the wretched bigotry of Cromwell suspended its intolerance in the face of good and sagacious policy. The parliamentarian generals offered that indulgence to conscience which was contumeliously refused by the loyal Ormond; and a man, whose sovereign depended on the allegiance and fidelity of the Irish, often refused that toleration which was granted by the hand that struggled for their destruction. An event now took place which peculiarly marks the sense of the Irish nation with regard to the claims of Ormond on their confidence. The Irish determined no longer to trust to the hollow and hypocritical professions of a man who had so often demonstrated his antipathy to their civil and religious liberty; they appealed in their present extremities to foreign powers, and resolved to trust to their own resources and their own councils. Ormond despaired of ever being able to establish his authority, when opposed by a power so audacious and so arrogant as he was pleased to represent the Irish clergy. It must often excite the astonishment of Mr Leland's readers to observe his perpetual and unceasing invectives against the Irish priesthood, in this great struggle for their religion

and their liberties. To an impartial and temperate observer it would occur, that the whole Catholic clergy of Ireland, not very remarkable for their ignorance or their want of spirit, would be anxious to submit to such councils as were best calculated to preserve the independence of their country, and the venerated creed of their forefathers. It would be reasonable to presume, that the collected wisdom, and learning, and spirit of the Irish clergy and laity, who so often differed in opinion with Ormond, were at least equal to the understanding of an individual, whose opportunities of information were no greater than those with whom he is compared; and whose motives to promote the liberties of Ireland were undoubtedly not stronger than those of the unmixed and unadulterated native Irish. Such presumptions, however reasonable, vanish before the infallible understanding and fidelity of Ormond. Mr Leland is perpetually complaining of the insidiousness by which his hero is assailed; of the ignorant obstinacy of the bigoted clergy of Ireland; of their presumption and the extravagance of their pride. The impartial observer of human nature wants no facts to contradict such silly invectives. They are too absurd even for the credulity of an enemy to swallow, and every man closes the chapter which thus degrades the character and the intellect of the Irish clergy, who at this calamitous period appear so forward in defence of their country, with a smile of contempt, or a sneer of suspicion. Those much reviled clergy determined to assemble and deliberate on the present alarming attitude of Irish

affairs. Those “ insolent ecclesiastics,” as Mr Leland calls them, “ did meet, in the year 1650, at a place called James-town, and felt it a duty which they owed to their religion as well as to their country, to consider whether that king, who had now proclaimed war against both, in order to gratify and conciliate the furious persecuting fanaticism of the Scotch, was deserving of their allegiance or their support, whether that king, or his favourite representative in Ireland, who had now determined to violate the peace which they solemnly concluded with the Irish, any longer merited their confidence or their fidelity. When Mr Leland arraigns the clergy of Ireland with the odious charges of “ presumption, faction, turbulence, fanaticism,” does he make full allowance for the causes which provoked that presumption and faction? Does he, with true historical candour, admit that a whole people, who were denounced by their king, would be undeserving the liberty for which they contended, if they did not give full expression to their indignation,* when Charles was degraded into the

* Mr Leland loses no opportunity of expressing his unlimited homage to the superior understanding and integrity of Ormond, as compared with the whole Irish nation. The disgraceful declaration against the Irish, signed by the king for the gratification of his Scotch subjects (Mr Leland writes), Ormond wished to regard as a forgery, and affected to treat it as such. Dr Curry, who is somewhat more industrious for the honour of Ireland, has unmasked Mr Leland’s favourite, and has shown that Ormond was not only perfectly aware of the king’s intention to sacrifice his Irish people, but actually advised such a policy; for Charles, in a letter to Ormond, dated January 16th, 1649, says, “ you

mean policy of signing the following declaration?
“ That he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; that he did detest and abhor all popery, superstition and idolatry, together with prelacy; resolving not to tolerate, much less to allow those in any part of his dominions, and to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power;

will perceive by my public letter, that I have resolved of a treaty with my subjects of Scotland, whereunto I was principally induced by that relation which Harry Seymour made to me from you of the state of things in Ireland.” Accordingly his Majesty, having agreed with the Scotch commissioners, left Breda, and arrived in Scotland on the 23d of June, 1650; but before they suffered him to land, they obliged him to sign both the covenants, national and solemn. Mr Carte, in his *Life of Ormond*, gives the opinion of one of his Majesty’s own secretaries on the abominable want of principle and integrity exhibited by Charles II. in agreeing to the infamous Scotch declaration. His Majesty’s secretary thus writes:—“ When I consider this infamous declaration, which the Scots compelled the king to publish, and are still resolved to have his Majesty to make good, though not only all the king’s party, but even strangers that have any sense of honour or conscience, declaim against it, I cannot so much as hope, that they intend any good or safety to his Majesty, whom they have so wickedly and notoriously abused.” *January 15th, 1650—letter to the Marquis of Ormond.* Yet Mr Leland would impress on his readers, that his pure amiable favourite, Ormond, was perfectly unaware of the king’s determination; and that, to use the historian’s own language, “ nothing could be more convenient for the congregation of prelates, soon after assembled at James-town, and their purpose of inflaming the people, than this virulent declaration; they (poor deluded people) imputed it entirely to the representations of the Marquis of Ormond.” It is really surprising how shrewdly our countrymen sometimes guess who are their enemies and who are their friends.

and with regard to the peace lately concluded with the confederates, and confirmed by himself, he expressly pronounced it null and void, adding, "that he was convinced in his conscience of the sinfulness and unlawfulness of it, and of allowing them (the confederates) the liberty of the popish religion; for which he did from his heart desire to be humbled before the Lord, and for having sought unto such unlawful help for the restoring of him to the throne."

Such were the honourable conditions on which the religious liberality of the Scotch agreed to co-operate with their sovereign for the recovery of his throne; and such was the humiliation to which that unprincipled monarch stooped to conciliate the support of his enemies. In the mind of the impartial reader, such a declaration from Charles would not be a little calculated to rouse the apprehensions of the Irish clergy, who were now convened at James-town. But what should the feelings of Ireland be, when even her enemies blushed for the dishonour of the king? When all his friends were seen to cover their faces, and commiserate the fate of that monarch who could have been reduced to so humiliating an act? We cannot therefore agree with Mr Leland in deploring the extraordinary influence which the Irish clergy were able to exercise over the minds of their countrymen; or that they were deaf to every summons but from those men who were honestly interested for the fate of their religion and their freedom.

Mr Leland's observations are peculiarly strong, and are so often echoed in the time we now live in,

that it may not be useless to quote the passage, and to request at the same instant that the reader will not forget the peculiar circumstances we have above described, when he is reading it. “But the ignorance of the vulgar,” writes Mr Leland, “had stamped such a degree of reverence and authority on the ecclesiastical character, that the dictates of the meanest of this order were superior to all power, civil and military.” What man, protestant, presbyterian, or catholic, can conscientiously deplore the veneration which the poor Irishman feels for his ecclesiastical instructor? The readers of this history will hear those complaints only from the enemies of the civil and religious liberty of the Irish people; and will admit that every friend to that liberty estimates the progress of virtue and morality among the people, in proportion to the degree of veneration in which they hold the sacred profession of their religion. In this instance, as in all that we have seen, the clergy were prompt in the execution of their duty. Their king had basely surrendered them to the sanguinary prejudices of the Scotch. He violated his faith with a people who were shedding their blood in his cause, and, from the meanest motives, consigned them over to the murderers of his father. With such a scene before him, Mr Leland writes that “Ormond was unable to suppress his disdain of so contemptible a faction as the catholic clergy of Ireland!”

True to the people, those venerated ecclesiastics convened a meeting at James-town, and took the king's conduct into consideration. They agreed

to a declaration that Ormond, the king's lieutenant, was no longer deserving of Irish confidence. Their language was the true picture of their wounded and abused feelings—strong, decided, ingenuous. “Our king,” say these honest men, “has cast away his Irish nation from his bosom; he has lamented and broken the peace which he had made with his people;—are we to be bound by a peace which he solemnly disclaims? Let us go back to our oath of association; let us recur to our original confederacy, and instead of fighting in support of a treaty thus disowned by our monarch, let us bravely hazard our lives and fortunes to extort more favourable articles from the enemy.” This was the language of a manly integrity, which knew no double ways to victory; which could not comprehend the mental reservations and state tricks of Ormond; and this is the language and the conduct which Mr Leland has been pleased to brand with the epithets of faction, turbulence, fanaticism, &c. &c. Ormond's intriguing resources were now almost exhausted, and he determined to retire from a scene in which he could no longer succeed by his practices of deceit and hypocrisy.

In those days the catholics had their *moderate* advisers, who saw no danger in negotiating with fraud, nor in compromising with insincerity; those moderate men still had confidence in Charles and Ormond, and would still be loyal to the hand that promised to shed their blood. Those moderate catholics commiserated the prejudices of their fellow-countrymen, which would not suffer them to see

protection in treachery, truth in falsehood, and the most enlightened liberality in the most unwearied bigotry. They struggled and remonstrated in favour of Ormond ; but this good man was obliged to surrender to general indignation, and to leave that country which his insidious policy had nearly ruined. The clergy drew up and signed an excommunication against all such catholics “ as should enlist under, feed, help, or adhere to his excellency, or assist him with men and money, or any other supplies whatsoever.” This instrument was signed on the 12th of August 1650 : it was published with the usual formalities on the 15th of September of the same year : thus, says the estimable Dr Curry, “ adopting the only expedient calculated to protect their religious liberty, lives, and fortunes.” On the 15th of November 1650, a general assembly was convened at Loughrea ; and though the historians of the pale are pleased to say that this assembly, composed of the principal nobility and gentry of fortune and interest in the kingdom, came to resolutions disapprobatory of the conduct of the bishops at James-town ; it will be found, on a reference to the actual proceedings of this assembly, that the acts of the bishops were fully, fearlessly, and unequivocally confirmed. “ An instrument,” says Dr Curry, “ was drawn up by this assembly, wherein they declared, that neither the Lords Spiritual nor Temporal, gentry nor people, clergy nor laity, had power to discharge the nation from that due and perfect obedience to his Majesty’s authority vested in the Marquis Clanrickard, and that in

case of any such act or endeavours, no persons should or ought to be led thereby, but that, for their disobedience on any such grounds, they were subject to the heavy censures and penalties of the laws of the land ; but to this is added, (and let the violaters of solemn treaties attend to it), that this obedience was not intended to be paid to any person that should be appointed chief governor, who had joined in the covenant, or should violate the articles of peace." Upon this declaration, Lord Clanrickard was prevailed upon to accept the government, and Ormond departed for France.

We have thought it necessary to devote so much to the vindication of the Irish clergy against the interested slanders of a distinguished historian, to demonstrate that those men who have been so cruelly branded with the opprobrious names of factious and fanatical priests, have, in the instance before us, been the last and unconquerable refuge of their country's liberty and religion. We have endeavoured to condense that evidence which convicts the calumniator, and establishes the claims of injured innocence. The Irish were now headed by a man who enjoyed their confidence. The Marquis of Ormond brought along with him a number of distinguished protestant officers, who were attached to his lordship ; and the single circumstance of his successor being a catholic, most naturally caused a separation of the two religions in a more distinct manner than heretofore. It is impossible not to observe the reluctance with which the protestant portion of Ireland yielded even to that ne-

cessity which bound them for some time together in the common cause of their king. The Lord Inchiquin embarked with Ormond. The conduct of the king and Ormond had so completely destroyed all confidence in any royal professions, that it is not to be wondered that the poor people of Ireland should seek refuge in the arms even of the parliamentarians, who now offered that toleration which was denied by their sovereign. Such a proposition, however reasonable in their present reduced state, was rejected by the majority of the Irish leaders; and the spirit of the country, not yet wholly extinguished, turned its attention towards the practicability of obtaining the interposition of some foreign power in this hour of their distress. They determined, therefore, that the bishop of Ferns, their most active partizan, should be sent to Brussels to solicit the Duke of Lorraine to take their nation and religion under his princely protection. So low were the hopes of the Marquis Clanrickard, that he could not affect any considerable opposition to the progress of the parliamentarians without the aid of a foreign power, that even he was inclined to listen to, and encourage a negociation with the Duke of Lorraine; and Clanrickard, in his letter to the Marquis of Ormond, states his reason why such a treaty with the Duke of Lorraine would be attended with the greatest advantages to the royal cause. "But no sooner," writes Clanrickard, "had the Irish understood that the Duke of Lorraine's ambassador had arrived in Ireland, with offers of powerful assistance for the preservation of the catholic religion

and of his majesty's subjects' interest, than they took much comfort and encouragement thereby, hoping that the rebels' power might be exposed; and soon after the towns of Limerick and Galway, and all other places yet in his majesty's obedience, seemed more cheerfully than before to assist his majesty's authority in opposing the rebels." Upon this change in the temper of the people, Clanrickard gave his countenance to the immediate negotiation of a treaty with the Duke of Lorraine.

Mr Leland is peculiarly angry at the anxiety manifested by the Irish people to court the protection and aid of a foreign power. Mr Leland, knowing the calamities and desperate situation to which the Irish people were now reduced, should have had the candour to admit, that to seek for such foreign aid as would possibly rescue them from their present distressing embarrassments, was the wisest and the honestest counsel which could have been suggested; and that such interference ought to be solicited at the hazard of the eternal interests of the monarch who had already abandoned them to their bitterest enemies. But the Irish did not go so far. They still held fast by that loyal principle which so much distinguished them; and even the treason of Charles to their country did not obliterate the impressions of an old veneration for his family.

The Marquis of Ormond would not only have recommended an alliance with the Duke of Lorraine, but he would advise that overtures should be made even to his holiness the pope, for that relief which

no protestant crowned head could now afford. "To come shortly," says he, in a letter to Clanrickard, "to what I would be at, wherein you may be concerned, I conceive some one must be found that hath power, if not with all, yet with most Christian princes and states. Among the protestants there is none such, and among the Roman catholics it is visible that the pope has the most of authority and persuasion; and it shall be, without scruple, my advice, and that speedily, that fitting ministers may be sent, and apt inducements proposed to him for his interposition with all the princes and states."

The terms of the treaty, as proposed by the Duke of Lorraine, were so extravagant, that Clanrickard preferred the alternative of his own unaided efforts in support of the royal cause. The negociation, however, continued until events in Ireland rendered any terms, however favourable, perfectly unavailing; the arms of the parliamentarians made a rapid progress, and almost every place of strength had submitted to their power. The treachery of an Irish officer, of the name of Fennell, opened the gates of Limerick to a merciless enemy, and the most prominent among the Irish in their zeal against the English, were sacrificed to the fury of the conquering army; Galway alone remained to the Irish. In this last refuge Clanrickard took shelter with the mutilated army. Ireton, the English general, one of the fanatical scourges of the Irish, fell a victim to disease, while besieging the town of Galway. The dreadful denunciations of

vengeance issued by the leaders of the parliamentary army, rendered it a question of prudence no longer to irritate a power which could not be successfully opposed, and the inhabitants of Galway opened their gates to the enemy. Clanrickard flew to the north of Ireland, where he struggled to rally the scattered partizans of royalty. He at length took advantage of an offer made by the English general, who permitted him to depart from Ireland with the three thousand troops which remained of the royal army; and well may we say with Mr Leland,—*but not in the spirit of his application*—that “he retired from a country lost to his royal master by illiberal bigotry, frantic pride, the blindness of men intoxicated by an imaginary consequence—their senseless factions and incorrigible perverseness in contending against their own interest, and rejecting every measure necessary for their own security.” Truly may it be written, that the desperate bigotry of Ormond, the unprincipled ambition of Charles, and the total want of a decided system of policy always directed to the candid support of the religious and civil liberties of the Irish, contributed in an eminent degree to the destruction of that king who might have ever found an inexhaustible resource in the gratitude and sensibility of the Irish heart.

The Marquis of Clanrickard thus abandoned Ireland to the fury of the English rebels; and thus, “in a few months,” observes Borlase, “the usurpers got possession of such a country as Ireland with as much ease as if they had merely to conquer

a county. Such a winter's campaign, and by so inconsiderable a party against so considerable a kingdom, was never read or heard of, and is abundant evidence of the complete inutility of numbers and of spirit, when divisions are suffered to exist amongst those who should be united, and the leader who should possess the confidence of the people, chances to be an object of general suspicion."—There was a barbarous decision in the character of Cromwell, which would not stop at universal extermination, if such a determination was necessary to the carrying any object of his ambition. Dalrymple, in his "Memoirs of Great Britain," says, that Cromwell, in order to get free of his enemies, did not scruple to transport forty thousand Irish from their own country, to fill all the armies in Europe with complaints of his cruelty, and admiration of their own valour.

One hundred and seventy years have nearly elapsed since Ireland experienced this scene of barbarous devastation. The policy was cruel, but there was one feature of humanity still to be discovered in such desperate tyranny;—it put an end to the victim; it did not preserve his existence to perpetuate his sufferings; it did not inflict the agonizing torture of that feverish being which our ancestors were doomed to suffer under the slow fire of the penal code. This was the progeny of an ingenuity which emulated the despotism of Cromwell, and consumed the heart, while it preserved the body of the wretched and unpitied sufferer. Yet our readers will now see with what philosophic insensibi-

lity and speculating barbarity an English writer delivers his opinions on the present sufferings of the devoted Irish. "It cannot be imagined," writes Lord Clarendon, "in how easy a method, and with what peaceable formality, the whole kingdom of Ireland was taken from the just owners and proprietors, and divided among those *who had no other right to it but that they had power to keep it*. In less than two years after Lord Clanrickard left Ireland, the new government seemed perfectly established; insomuch that there were many buildings for ornament as well as use, orderly and regular plantations of trees, fences, and inclosures, raised throughout the kingdom; purchases made by one from the other at very valuable rates; and jointures settled on marriages, and all the conveyances and settlements executed as in a kingdom at peace within itself, and where no doubt could be made of the validity of titles." This peaceful and gratifying picture, in the view of an English writer, more than compensates for all the varied and infinite calamity which the expatriated Irish must have endured. The cries and tears of the persecuted millions of our countrymen are no longer heard, amidst the sweet harmony of English contractors. The Irish were a barbarous people, and should be sacrificed to the fanatical soldiers of Cromwell. With such facts before the reflection of Ireland, will an Englishman wonder that his country is viewed with suspicion and jealousy? or will an English government hesitate to adopt that course of conduct by Ireland, which will induce her to bury in

eternal oblivion those dreadful records which make so powerful an appeal to their vengeance?

A very singular measure of cruelty and violence was now adopted by the English rebels, Cromwell and his council, to complete, as they were pleased to say, the tranquillity of Ireland. Notwithstanding the thousands that were destroyed by the sword, and the thousands that were driven with their beggared families to roam through the unpitying world, there still remained a large portion of the native Irish, whom Cromwell and his council thought it necessary to dispose of. There was a large track of land, even to the half of the province of Connaught, that was separated from the rest by a long and large river, and which, by the plague and many massacres, remained almost desolate. Into this space and circuit of land Cromwell required all the native Irish to retire by a certain day, under the penalty of death; and all who, after that time, should be found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman, or child, might be killed by any body who saw or met them. They were not only driven into this barren country to linger out a miserable existence, but they were forced, at the point of the bayonet, to sign releases of their former rights and titles to the land that was taken from them, in consideration of what was now assigned them; that so they should for ever bar themselves and their heirs from laying claim to their old inheritance. It would be supposed by the reader of these pages, who has seen the inflexible fidelity of the Irish people to the fortunes and cause of Charles, that this monarch

would not have forgotten the loyalty of those who stood by him in the extremity of his greatest distress; that he would not send forth their children to the wilderness, who had shed their blood in his defence;—yet what is the fact?—That this infamous and ungrateful monarch agreed that one of the conditions of his restoration to the crown of his father should be, that the plundered people of Ireland should never be restored to their properties. Here was the royal reward for the fidelity and allegiance of Ireland; and here was the plan of civilization on which Englishmen acted, and by which they were to introduce the laws and privileges of a free constitution.

Courts of justice were appointed, whose sanguinary decrees suggested the name of “Cromwell’s slaughter-houses.” These infamous tribunals were erected under the pretext of bringing to justice the promoters of, and actors in, the rebellion of 1641; but the real object was the confiscation of property, and the destruction of the Irish. The feelings of humanity, and the principles, were boastingly trampled on. To be cruel to the Irish was to be humane and religious; to plunder their properties, and beggar their children, was to enrich the godly and disseminate the gospel. Thus would the rapacious destroyer insult the justice of Omnipotence by the hypocritical adoption of his word; and the religion which was intended to give peace and security to mankind, was made the instrument of desolation and barbarity. The Marquis of Ormond, in his place in parliament, drew a faithful picture of those tribunals to which English fanati-

cism gave birth in the time of the commonwealth. “What less misery could be expected at a time when all distinctions of right and wrong were confounded and lost in those of power and importance; when the noblest acts of loyalty received the judgment due to the foulest treason;—due to the unrighteous judges who pronounced it without authority in the persons, or justice in the sentence; when the benches were crowded and oppressed with the throng and wicked weight of those that ought rather to have stood manacled at the bar; when such was the bold contempt, not only of the essentials, but also the very formalities of justice, that they gave no reason for taking away men’s estates, but that *they were Irish papists*; when all men were liable to the entanglement of two edged oaths, from the conflicts raised by them in men’s breasts between conscience and conveniency—between the prostitution of their conscience and the ruin of their fortunes; than which, a harder and more tyrannical choice could not be obtruded on Christians. For here the election was not, swear thus against your conscience, or you shall have no part in the civil government, no office in the army, or benefice in the church—but, swear thus, or you shall have no house to put your head in, no bread to sustain yourselves, your wives and children.” A writer cotemporary with those tragical events, (Morrison) strains his memory for examples of such relentless barbarity as was now exhibited in Ireland. “Neither the Israelites,” he says, “were more cruelly persecuted by Pharaoh, nor the innocent

infants by Herod, nor the Christians by Nero, nor any of the other pagan tyrants, than were the Roman catholics of Ireland at this fatal juncture, by Cromwell's savage commissioners; and the same price (five pounds Sterling) was set by the commissioners on the head of a Romish priest, as on that of a wolf, the number of which was then very considerable in Ireland; and although the profession or character of a Romish priest could not, one would think, be so clearly ascertained as the species of wolf, by the mere inspection of their heads thus severed from their bodies; yet the bare asseveration of the beheaders, was, in both cases, equally credited and rewarded by those commissioners, so inveterate was their malice and hatred to that order of men." It may now be fairly asked the declaimers against the insatiable despotism of the catholic inquisition, do they not here see the account of blood between the dissenters from the catholic religion and the catholics, most strictly balanced? and do not the persecutors of conscience also see the insanity of that zeal, which will not suffer the human mind to follow the creed, and profess the doctrine which it considers the best, and which is not incompatible with the peace and tranquillity of society? The present day mourns the effects of the follies it laughs at; and the mild and healing sentiment of toleration is now closing the wounds which fanaticism has so long kept open.

In a compendium of Irish history, it would be a departure from the intention and the object of the writer, to set down every instance of individual suf-

fering and oppression with which Irish history so constantly overflows; neither the understanding nor the heart derives much improvement from this accurate parade of human misfortune and human atrocity. Perhaps, as it was beautifully expressed by the eloquent and pathetic Curran, in one of the finest passages that ever issued from human genius, the real state of our country, and particularly in the melancholy hour of calamity we are now arrived at, is more forcibly impressed on the attention of the reader by a particular, than it ever could be by any general description. "When you endeavour," says Curran, "to convey an idea of a great number of barbarians, practising a great variety of cruelties upon an incalculable number of sufferers, nothing defined or specific finds its way to the heart, nor is any sentiment extorted, save that of general, erratic, unappropriated commiseration." True; the misfortunes of an individual find refuge in every bosom. The misfortunes of a nation are too widely diffused; the surface of human suffering is too extended; the sensibility of the spectator is lost in the immensity of the scene he has to contemplate, and he closes the recital of murders, and rapes, and robberies, with less sympathy than he would view the fracture of a limb, or the plunder of a cabin. In the wild and wanton devastation which the commissioners of Cromwell were making through every part of this devoted country, it is difficult to select one instance of barbarous injustice greater than another. Among those persons who were brought before the iniquitous tribunal created by Cromwell,

was Sir Phelim O'Neal, one of the most distinguished leaders in the rebellion of 1641. The great object of O'Neal's judges was to make him the instrument of their vengeance against the character of the monarch whom they had murdered ; for which purpose they offered him his life and estates, on condition of his confessing that the instrument which he had forged as a commission from Charles to levy forces and money for the insurrection, was *bona fide* the genuine act of the king, and not an imposition practised by the ingenuity of Sir Phelim O'Neal on the credulity of the Irish people. Even the ashes of the murdered Charles, fanaticism would not suffer to rest in peace ; but the heroism and truth of Sir Phelim O'Neal could not be terrified by the menaces of death ; for at the place of execution, and after he had mounted the ladder, when an offer of his large estates and life were made him by Ludlow, on the condition of criminating the memory and character of the king, he calmly and firmly replied, " I thank the lieutenant for his mercy ; but I declare, good people, before God and his angels, and all you that hear me, that I never had any commission from the king for what I have done in levying and prosecuting this war." Mr Leland represents this man, who acted thus when standing on the verge of eternity, as a monster of cruelty and disloyalty ; on the other hand, Mr Carte, in his life of Ormond, writes, that Sir Phelim O'Neal had not the character of being an ill-natured man. " In this charitable character," says our honest countryman Dr Curry, " I am apt to consider this unfortunate gentleman ; but when I com-

pare the behaviour of Sir Phelim O'Neal, in his last moments, with that of his judges, I am at a loss to determine which should be deemed greater, the heroism of the former, or the villany of the latter. The murderers of the unfortunate Charles wanted some justification of their conduct, which now began to tell against them. It was not the crimes of Sir Phelim O'Neal which brought him to trial; it was the hope that he would sacrifice his sovereign to the preservation of his life and property, and thus vindicate the act which had so much astonished and disgusted the world."

The sword and the law had now nearly performed their office. The spirit of the country was broken down. Its heart sunk within its bosom, and the eye of pity had one unchequered scene of dreary desolation to wander over. The child was torn from the parent, the wife from the husband; all were scattered by the rapacious spirit of fanaticism; and the ancient rank and venerated blood of Ireland were now to be found in the performance of the most humiliating occupations—the slaves of English and Scotch adventurers. Well might the English Parliament, in 1655, declare that now the rebels in Ireland were subdued and the rebellion ended;—that now they might securely proceed to a distribution of the Irish lands. It was therefore determined, that the whole kingdom should be surveyed, and the number of acres taken, with the quality of them; and then that all the soldiers should bring in their demands of arrears, and to give every man, by lot, as many acres as should

answer the value of his demand. The proposal was agreed to ; and all Ireland being surveyed, the best land was only rated at four shillings, and some only at a penny. The soldiers drew lots in what part of the kingdom their portions should be assigned them. The lands so divided amounted to 605,670 acres. Lord Clarendon says that Cromwell reserved for the aggrandizement of his own family the entire of the rich and fertile province of Munster. The administration of Henry Cromwell gave some respite to the sufferings of Ireland ; he often hesitated to put into execution the sanguinary mandates of his father's government ; and the Irish, under his protection, frequently found shelter from the pursuits of fanaticism and rapacity. We shall close our history of Ireland during the commonwealth, with the relation of an event, as given us by Dr Curry. The reader may, in this picture, estimate the blessings enjoyed by the Irish people, during the sanguinary existence of Cromwell and his republican associates. It is a powerful illustration of the absurdity of religious persecution, and exhibits the cowardice of the persecutor in the wretched meanness of his revenge.

“ In these days,” says Dr Curry, “ the name of an Irishman and rebel was thought to signify the same thing ; for whenever the Cromwellians met any of the poor country people abroad, or discovered them lurking from their fury in dens and caverns, they killed them on the spot, if some unusual or whimsical circumstance did not happen to save them. Thus Ludlow tells us, that being on his

march, an advanced party found two of the rebels, 'one of whom,' says he, 'was killed by the guard before I came up; the other was saved, and being brought before me, I asked him if he had a mind to be hanged, and he only answered, *if you please.*' At another time, Ludlow says, he found some poor people retired within a hollow rock, which was so thick that he thought it impossible to dig it down upon them, and therefore resolved to reduce them by smoke. After some of his men had spent most part of the day in endeavouring to smother those within, by fire placed at the mouth of the cave; they withdrew the fire, and the next morning, supposing the Irish to be made incapable of resistance by the smoke, some of them crawled into the rock, but one of the Irish, with a pistol, shot the first of his men; by which he found the smoke had not taken the desired effect, because, though a great smoke went into the cavity of the rock, yet it came out again at other crevices; upon which he ordered those places to be closely stopped, and another smoke to be made: and the fire was continued until midnight, then taken away, that the place might be cool enough for his men to enter the next morning; at which time they went in, armed with back, breast, and head-pieces, found the man who had fired the pistol dead, put about fifteen to the sword, and brought four or five out alive, with the priests' robes, a crucifix, chalice, and other furniture of that kind, but no arms. Those within preserved themselves by laying their heads close to a waterfall that ran through a rock. We found two rooms

in the place, one of which was large enough to turn a pike."

The reflection of Dr Curry, on this wretched scene of cowardly barbarity and mean revenge, is worthy of the head and the heart of this most valuable writer. "Such," says Dr Curry "were the enemies whose lives those gallant regicides were incessantly hunting after; a score of despoiled people lurking in caverns from the fury of their pursuers, and furnished but with one pistol to guard the entrance of their hiding-place. From the character of these barbarians, we may well believe, though Ludlow does not mention it, that these four or five wretches whom they brought alive out of the rock, soon after met with the fate of their companions." Wretched indeed are such triumphs to those who have the misfortune to boast of them; and disastrous must that period be to the ill-fated native Irishman, which exhibited the sanguinary fanatical republicans of England, thus sporting with human blood, and pursuing the brave and unbending Irishman with as much fury as they would the ourang-outang, or the tyger. Such a fact, coming from one of the most distinguished leaders among the fanatical partizans of Cromwell, is a faithful picture of the misery which Ireland experienced during this age of remorseless English despotism. Is the heart of the reader to be relieved hereafter by a cessation of Irish suffering? Alas! every page presents its scene of persecution; and the hand for which they have hitherto endured such cruel privations, will be hereafter seen striking the blow

which it was its duty to have averted. The petty tyrants of Cromwell will be forgotten in the base and unprincipled ingratitude of the monarch whom Ireland served with fidelity, and the torture of the bayonet will be found to give way to the more ingenious and more protracted torture of the law. Yet an Englishman has wondered that Ireland is not partial to the connection which has thus driven her to madness.—An Englishman has wondered that Ireland should writhe under the lash, or burn under the faggot; he has smiled at that obstinacy which the Irishman calls fidelity, and has deplored the errors of that judgment which the Irishman dignifies with the name of conscience. Thank God, a better feeling has arisen. The Englishmen of the present day begin to appreciate the Irish character with more justice and a profounder sagacity—they estimate his loyalty in proportion to his attachment to the faith of his fathers, and repose their confidence in his honour, in proportion to the courage and the firmness with which he has repelled the temptations of corruption, or the threats of power.

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her to madness. — An Englishman has wondered
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under the flag of St. George, be so much at that obsequy
which the Irishman calls fidelity, and has deplored
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THE

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHARLES II.

A. D. 1660. THE reader of the foregoing pages must have long since been wearied with the dismal narrative of suffering which we have endeavoured to detail, and which we have struggled to condense into the smallest number of facts that the nature of our work would permit. There has been but little respite from exasperating oppression and unmerited cruelty. The eye wanders over a dreary scene of desolation without a single point on which it can rest; the heart of the philanthropist sinks under a hopeless despondency, and passively yields to the unchristian and impious reflection, that the poor people of Ireland are a devoted race, whom Providence has abandoned to the malignant ingenuity of an insatiable enemy. It would have been reasonable to suppose that the cup of misfortune was completely filled; that the enemy was exhausted in their efforts to torture and to destroy; that

the unhappy native, despoiled and hunted into the desert, would have been suffered at least to exist, the wretched monument of human change, and the living evidence of human malignity. Hitherto the Irishman has been persecuted by the fanatic and the plunderer. Hitherto the struggle was with the English adventurer, who would wade through the blood of Irishmen to the possession of Irish property. Hitherto the Irish had to contend with a rapacious enemy, from whom no mercy was to be expected or received. The reign of Charles II., however, throws an ingredient into the cup of Irish misfortune, which the ingenuity of ancient tyranny did not discover; which makes the memory of Charles II. rank higher in the annals of infamy, than Nero or Caligula; and which is only to be equalled by the stupid credulity with which a nation so treated has clung to the memory of the most despicable monarch that ever occupied the throne of Great Britain.

The reader has not forgotten the inflexible fidelity with which the Irish people stood by the house of Stuart in all their varied calamity. He has not forgotten the royal promises which were so lavishly poured forth, of indemnification for the past, and security for the future. He does not forget the honest and indignant ardour with which the murderers of Charles I. were pursued by the Irish people, until the fraudulent councils of such friends as Ormond broke their spirit, dissolved their union, and sowed division and distrust in every bosom. The arm of Ireland was still held out to her injured

monarch ; it maintained his honour and his fame in the ranks of foreign armies ; France, Spain, and Germany bore attestation to the sincerity and truth of her loyalty. At home, the Irish are hunted into the recesses of their mountains by the fanatical regicides of England ; abroad they are supporting their sovereign, sharing in his privations, the cheerful partner of his sufferings, and the never desponding advocates of his fortune. What was the reward for this Irish fidelity, which never could be shaken in the most violent tempest of Charles's adversity ? What was the return which was made by the monarch of England to the most active and enthusiastic instruments of his restoration ? Posterity will scarcely credit that the innocent and deserving people of Ireland were sacrificed by Charles to the suggestions of that abandoned policy which insidiously told him, that he should rob and beggar his most faithful allies the Irish people, in order to conciliate the murderers of his father. It will not be credited, that the Cromwellians, who hunted this monarch through Europe, who thirsted for his blood, who brought his best friends to the block or the gallows, should be the very men who found refuge under his patronage, and enjoyed fortune and station under his government. Clarendon, an artful and avaricious minister, prompted this odious determination, and the vicious indolence of the monarch embraced it. We have seen the rapid progress of Cromwellian devastation during the commonwealth. In possession of all the strong positions through the country, with the accumulated

treasures of successful robbery, they corrupted the monarch and minister with their gold, while they intimidated the disarmed nation with their sword. Charles was advised to accept the proffered bribe; and the infamous bargain which sacrificed a loyal and faithful people, was cheerfully struck by the royal hand.

Soon after the restoration of Charles, Sir Charles Coote, now Earl of Montrath, sent forward commissioners to his majesty with a large present of money, accompanied with professions of loyalty and attachment. These commissioners, whose presence would have insulted a monarch of integrity, were Lord Broghill, Sir Audley Mervin, and Sir John Clotworthy; men distinguished, as we have seen, for their inveterate hostility to his father and to himself during the rebellion. The power they enjoyed in Ireland, and their command of money, counterbalanced all considerations in the royal breast drawn from their past disloyalty. "Lord Broghill, now Earl of Orrery," writes Lord Clarendon in his own memoirs, "appeared so very generous and disinterested, that he obtained immediate credit from his majesty; and having free access to the king, by mingling apologies for what he had done, with promises of what he would do, he made himself so acceptable to his majesty, that he heard him willingly; because he made all things easy to be done and compassed, and gave such assurances to the bed-chamber men, to help them to good fortunes in Ireland, which they had reason to despair of in England, that he wanted not their testimony on all

occasions, nor their defence and vindication when any thing was urged to his disadvantage." To surround the throne with the bribed advocates of their usurpation was an artful and efficient stroke of policy. The praises of the bed-chamber men in favour of those Cromwellian despoilers of the Irish, who thus flattered them with a participation in the plunder, drowned the cries of Ireland, and blocked up the avenues to royal mercy or royal justice. The act of oblivion granted to English rebels what was refused to Irish loyalists. The king *nobly* and *generously* excepted the Catholics of Ireland.— Yet, this determination was not the hasty or precipitate mistake of a man anxious to adopt the quickest and most immediate mode of establishing his power, without any consideration of the violation of moral feeling. Charles, before he flung away his Irish people, had often revolved in his mind their past fidelity and sufferings in his cause. Even before those very ministers, Clarendon and Ormond, by whose councils he was ultimately directed, he has often called to their recollection the obligations he owed to his people of Ireland. In his speech to parliament, alluding to the bill of amnesty, he said "that he hoped the Irish alone would not be excluded from his mercy; that they had shewn him much affection, and that he expected the parliament would have a care of his honour, and of what he had promised them." From such words it would be supposed that gratitude still found a place in the royal bosom; yet what was the result? the cold, calculating, frozen

feeling of Clarendon gained the ascendancy ; and the degrading advice which told him to neglect his friends who would not therefore injure him, and reward his enemies who might be troublesome, was meanly followed by Charles. France, in whose lap this vicious monarch dissipated a considerable portion of his time during his exile, must have smiled at the success with which she corrupted the heart of the royal guest. Europe must have contemplated Charles with indignation and with contempt ; and the very people whom he governed, and to whose prejudices and avarice he thus basely ministered, sanguinely speculated on the practicability of triumphing in the struggle with a monarch who thus volunteered in his own degradation. The Irish Cromwellians succeeded in influencing Charles to issue a proclamation against the people of Ireland, grounded on the rumours of plots and conferences which they artfully circulated : the same proclamation gave the royal protection to all military adventurers who were but a few months back arrayed in arms against the claims and the rights of Charles. The Cromwellians thus succeeded in preserving their power in all the towns of Ireland. They could select the representations as they pleased, and command the voice of parliament according to their wishes. The oaths of allegiance and supremacy, were the condition of legal protection ; and as Dr Curry justly observes, in order to have the entire division of the spoil among themselves, and for ever to preclude the catholics from having any share even in their debates about it, one of the first

resolutions of the first parliament assembled after the restoration, was, "that no members should be qualified to sit in that house, but such as had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. With the same view of banishing the catholic peers from the house of lords, primate Bramhall, the speaker, procured an order to be passed there, that all the members thereof should receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper from his grace's own hands." To such vile and predatory purposes was one of the most awful institutions of religion prostituted at that juncture. But in no other parliament but one so constituted and perverted, could acts alienating the just property of almost all the catholics in the kingdom, be expected to pass.

We have seen that the catholics of Ireland were particularly excepted by Charles in his act of indemnity, and that this was done with the approbation of Ormond. The reason which this nobleman gave for this act of kindness to the Irish nation, perfectly accords with that insidious and abandoned policy which hitherto distinguished him. "If," says Ormond, "I had not opposed the motion for including the Irish in the general pardon, others undoubtedly would; who by exaggerating their former misconduct, would have excited rather the parliament's indignation against them, than commiseration for their case." This, no doubt, was a most kind consideration, and peculiarly well marked with all the fraudulent character of the speaker; yet, (as Mr Carte, in his life of this nobleman, observes,) "as Ormond was a witness of every year's conduct

during the troubles, he was well acquainted with all the circumstances of their case : he knew better than any other man the early attempts which the most considerable of their nobility and gentry made to return to their duty ; the difficulties they had to struggle with in that walk ; the perseverance with which they pursued their design, till they had accomplished it, and the zeal with which, in the king's distress, they had embraced the peace of 1648." Though Ormond could have borne such an attestation, yet he had some sound special reasons for a contrary conduct. Were the catholics of Ireland vindicated by him, he could not perhaps calculate on the possession of the vast estates of which he plundered them ; he might, by striking to the avaricious fanaticism of the Cromwellians, reasonably calculate on the confirmation and extension of that property which so copiously flowed into his lap from the wounds of Ireland ; he therefore joined in the general calumny, and as we will hereafter see, was the immediate instrument of the remorseless persecution of the Irish clergy.

Charles now proceeded to establish the settlement of the kingdom of Ireland, and as he consulted his old enemies, when to include the catholics in the proclamation of pardon was the question, so do we find him now in council with the chief plunderers of the Irish, when the question arises of adjusting the claims and settling the property of his loyal Irish subjects. What the result would be to Ireland may easily be anticipated, when Lord Broghill, Sir John Clotworthy, and Sir Arthur

Mervin, were the distributors of justice. We may quickly conclude what would be the measure of mercy or equity to the ill-fated catholic. Under the direction of such heads and such hearts, the royal declaration for the settlement of Ireland was framed and published. We shall not disgust the reader by the painful recital: it is sufficient to say, that ingratitude of the blackest feature, and hypocrisy of the most impudent character, distinguished every article of the royal document. Irishmen are industriously sacrificed to the aggrandizement of the very hands which shed the blood of Charles' father. The London adventurers who advanced their money on the mortgage of Irish misfortune, have precedence of the men who shared in all the royal sufferings, and supported the king under all his afflictions. Thus were the great majority of the Irish people robbed by the royal order, and exposed to the contemptuous pity of the regicides of England. Ormond, however, during this solemn mockery of justice, took good care of himself. He procured his restoration to the Irish estates by an act of the English parliament: he and Lord Inchiquin were specially protected. A provision was made, in the royal declaration, for the settlement of Ireland, for thirty-six of the Irish nobility to be restored to their properties on the same terms with those who served his Majesty when on the continent. That this declaration of Charles for the settlement of Ireland should have excited indignation and revenge in every Irish bosom, is not to be wondered at. That the poor worn-out soldier, who

had shed his blood, and sacrificed his property in defence of his monarch, should be seen shedding tears over that infamous ingratitude which thus abandoned him and his children to his enemies, will be admitted by every man who knows the human heart, to be a likely and a probable scene in this melancholy period of Ireland's sufferings. Every eye was turned to that meeting of the Irish parliament which was to confirm or to reject this act of royal turpitude. It was supposed that some sparks of honour might still be found in either house of legislature, which might be kindled by discussion into a generous flame; and that at least the old peerage of Ireland would not suffer their venerated names and their noble blood to be trampled on by the voracious reptiles which crept into parliament, and which we may say rose into existence, from the miseries of Irishmen. The Earl of Kildare, with other Irish peers, did come forward in the Lords, and did assert the superior claims of the Irish to royal protection. The mushroom products of calamity shrunk into their native insignificance; the earl pointed out the gross injustice of the royal declaration; the infamous violation of public and private faith: he appealed to the widows and the orphans who crowded the streets of Dublin, and whose claims the royal declaration must extinguish, in evidence of the cruelty on which the king had grounded his declaration. Constituted as the Irish parliament then was, such an opposition, however supported by truth and sound reasoning, must be feeble and impotent. The bill of settlement, in confirmation

of the royal declaration which we have already described, was at length prepared, passed, and presented to the lords justices; it was transmitted by those lords commissioned by the council, while each house of parliament nominated their agents to attend the king and council in England, and to solicit the immediate passing of the bill. London was now the great theatre on which the property and comfort of Irishmen were about to be decided. Their last appeal was to be made to the king; and those were to be found in Ireland, who still credulously thought that the royal eye would have recognized and gratefully acknowledged the wounds which covered his humble petitioners for mercy, in this their last effort for the common sustenance of their children. Mr Leland is displeased at the demeanour of the Irish before the royal tribunal. They had not the folly to repose confidence in Ormond, who had so often deceived them; they would not solicit him to be their advocate; again, they were so imprudent as to rest their claims to royal protection on their justice and their truth. They would not adopt the more dexterous and skilful policy of Ormond, who recommended submission, and the acknowledgment of crimes. The Irish felt *that they were innocent*; that they were not only innocent of offence to his majesty, but that *the monarch was their debtor*; and that they then appeared before him not so much to enjoy the protection of his royal mercy, as to demand the debt which was due to their services. They therefore selected Colonel Richard Talbot to be their advo-

cate, and they made the justice of their claim the foundation of their case. No doubt these were feeble bulwarks to defend them against the heavy fire of corruption which poured on them from the overflowing coffers of the Cromwellian plunderers of their property. Mr Carte, in his *Life of Ormond*, makes mention of a few circumstances which helped to blunt the vulgar weapons wielded by the advocates of the impoverished Irish. “The new Earls of Orrery and Montrath had taken care to raise privately among the adventurers and soldiers, L.20,000 or L.30,000, to be disposed of properly, without any account, by way of recompense to such as should be serviceable to what was called the English interests.” The Irish had no such sums to command, few friends about the court, and no means of procuring any. Those of the English council before whom they were to plead their cause, were highly prejudiced and incensed against the whole nation; knew little of the conduct of particular persons who deserved favour, but were willing to involve every body in the general guilt of the massacre as well as the rebellion.” The Irish nation should not have been so destitute of council; gratitude should have presided on the royal tribunal, and the tears of Ireland should have been dried by the royal hand. If Charles had been a grateful king, or, rather, had he possessed the feelings of a man, he would have been the minister of consolation to the unprotected Irishman. He should have said, “You who remembered me in my adversity, I will not

forget when sitting on the throne." No!—the English interest must be favoured, and justice and Ireland must sink into the tomb. Why should Irishmen, after such a scene, be partial to the house of Stuart, or to the connection with England? or what compensation can be made to Irish feeling, before the memory of such transactions are totally obliterated?

Both parties, the English adventurers and the Irish proprietors, were heard before the king in council. Lord Clarendon, in his *Life and Memoirs*, written by himself, gives a very interesting and pathetic description of the reasons advanced by the Irish in support of their claims. "This nobleman," says Dr Curry, "seems to exhibit some symptoms of remorse for that Machiavelian advice which the Irish ever accused him of having given to the king, while the settlement of Ireland was under consideration." Dr Curry has given a very curious certificate of a declaration made by Clarendon, after his disgrace in England, to one of his most confidential friends. We shall literally copy it, as it bears all the internal marks of authenticity. "Memorandum.—The Reverend Mr Cock of Durham, being at his kinsman's, Sir Ralph Cole, at Banspith Castle, about the time that Lord Chancellor Clarendon was disgraced, Sir Henry Brabant of Newcastle came thither, in his way from London, and told Sir Ralph and him this passage: That he, Sir Henry Brabant, having been to wait on Lord Clarendon just after his disgrace, his lordship, after telling him how kindly he took that

piece of friendship, expressed himself to this effect, ‘ that there were grievous things laid to his charge, but that he could bear up against the rest, if his majesty would forgive him but one thing, which was, that he was the person who advised him to prefer his enemies, and neglect his friends, since the principles of the latter would secure them to him ; adding, that he took that for the cause of his own ruin, and wished it might not occasion that of many others, and at last the king’s.” “ This,” says Dr Curry, “ is testified by H. Bedford, who had it from the above Mr Cock.”

Lord Chancellor Clarendon, who thus expressed himself, when the folly of injustice was too glaring not to be acknowledged, has given us in his memoirs such a picture of the proceedings before the king and council on the subject of the settlement of Ireland, as must silence the most impudent defender of English usurpation. We shall give it entire and unmutilated. It is valuable from its authority, as well as its composition, and demonstrates the infamy of the monarch who could have given his countenance to a policy so atrocious and unprincipled. “ In vain did the Irish agents urge the great and long sufferings of their countrymen ; the loss of their estates for five or six-and-twenty years ; the wasting and spending of the whole nation in battles, and transportation of men into the parts beyond the seas, whereof many had the honour to testify their fidelity to the king by real services, (many of them returned into England with him, and were still in his service ;) the great num-

bers of men, women and children that had been massacred or executed in cold blood, after the king's government had been driven from them; the multitudes that had been destroyed by famine and the plague, these two heavy judgments having raged over the kingdom for two or three years; and at last, as a persecution unheard-of, the transplanting of the small remainder of the nation into the corner of the province of Connaught, where yet much of the lands were taken from them, which had been assigned with all those formalities of law that were in use and practice under that government. Indeed it was deemed strange indiscretion and folly in the Irish, to insist upon the unworthiness and incapacity of those who for many years had possessed themselves of their estates, and sought then a confirmation of their rebellious title from his majesty; or even to insinuate that their rebellion had been more infamous, and of greater magnitude than that of the Irish, who had risen in arms to free themselves from the rigour and severity that was exercised upon them by some of the king's ministers, and for the liberty of their conscience, without having the least intention or thought of withdrawing themselves from his majesty's obedience, or declining his government; whereas the others had carried on an odious rebellion against the king's sacred person, whom they had horridly murdered in the sight of the sun, with all imaginable circumstances of contempt and defiance, and as much as in them lay, had rooted out monarchy itself, and overturned and destroyed the whole government

of church and state ; and therefore they observed, whatever punishment the Irish had merited for their former transgressions, which they had so long repented of and departed from, when they had arms and strong towns in their hands, (which, together with themselves, they put again under his majesty's protection), that surely this part of the English who were possessed of their estates, and had broken all their obligations to God and the king, could not deserve to be gratified with their ruin and total destruction. It was deemed unpardonable indiscretion in the Irish agents to give the most distant intimation of their humble hope, that when all his majesty's other subjects were by his clemency restored to their own estates, and were in full peace and mirth and joy, the Irish alone should not be exempt from all his majesty's grace, and left in tears and mourning and lamentation, and be sacrificed without redemption, to the avarice and cruelty of those who had not only spoiled and oppressed them, but had done all that was in their power to destroy the king himself and his posterity, and who now returned to their obedience and submitted to his government, when they were no longer able to oppose it."

Charles appointed commissioners, denominated "A Court of Claims," to put into execution the act of settlement. The first set of commissioners appointed, were so completely and thoroughly in the interest of the adventurers and Cromwellians, that it would be a long work to detail their acts of partiality and oppression. They overshot their duty,

and were superseded. Another set of commissioners were substituted, of pure character and better feeling. Lord Clarendon says, that they rather leaned to the Irish, and thus exasperated a formidable power in the persons of the Cromwellians; and his lordship further adds, that the commissioners themselves were so conscious of having acted in obedience to the dictates of truth and justice in the several decisions they made, that they would proceed no further in the commission, nor subject themselves more to the whispers of censure, until they could receive his majesty's pleasure; and that they might more effectually receive it, they desired leave from the king that they might attend his royal person; and there being at the same time several complaints made against them to his majesty, and appeals to him from their decrees, he gave the commissioners leave to return, and at the same time, all the other interests sent their deputies to solicit their rights; in the prosecution whereof, after much time spent, the Duke of Ormond was called from Ireland to court, at which time a third bill was transmitted from the Irish parliament, called the additional and supplemental bill of settlement, and to revise many of the decrees made by the commissioners.

This bill, or black act, was brought over to Ireland, signed and sealed by the Duke of Ormond himself. By that bill the claims of the innocent, who had not received any compensation for their immense losses, were for ever extinguished. Thus were the loyal and the faithful adherents to the

fortunes of Charles sacrificed to his old and inveterate enemies ; and those acts of parliament, which completed the settlement of Ireland, are at the present day the foundation of the titles to the great majority of landed property in this country.

So enormous was the injustice which was now done by the English monarch against the poor people of Ireland, that we find the compassion of Louis XIV. was excited by the bitterness of Irish lamentation. He wrote the King of England a letter, in which he remonstrates with his unprincipled abandonment of his best and sincerest friends, and calls upon him to imitate that toleration which Louis himself then allowed to his subjects of the reformed religion. Such interposition, however important, was in vain ; the king had taken his measures, and indolence, if not vice, would not suffer him to retrace his steps. As yet, we have for the most part confined ourselves to those authorities in favour of Ireland, whose impartiality will not be suspected. Lord Clarendon, Carte, Hume, Leland, and the accurate Dr Curry, have borne testimony to the infamy of the act of settlement, to its unparalleled cruelty and injustice. Time, however, has given to that proceeding a stability and a strength which it never could enjoy from its own intrinsic merit ; and the catholics of the present day have devoted their industry and their wealth to the purchase of those properties which derive their titles from the foulest record in the history of any legislature. They are therefore

deeply interested in the permanency of that settlement which their ancestors most naturally would have struggled to overturn. The encouragement which has been given, for some years back, under a more wise and generous policy, to the numerous population of Ireland, has caused a great revolution in property. The Irish catholics of the present day can boast of extensive landed proprietors among their body ; of rich and powerful merchants ; active, skilful, and prosperous manufacturers ; every class of human industry, and every department of science, are filled with catholics of great and prominent celebrity. Catholic wealth is daily accumulating, and the various sects of Ireland are rapidly becoming one people, by the powerful operation of mutual interest, as well as mutual charity.

The infamy of Charles is lost in the consideration that *all* his successors have not imitated his example ; and though the devoted people of Ireland were again doomed to experience the lash of persecution under the hand which deposed the house of Stuart ; yet a better order of things has risen up during the last thirty years ; and some compensation, though not half what is due, has been made to the Roman catholics of Ireland, for the unmerited sufferings of their ancestors. One of the ablest men, perhaps the very ablest man, to whom Ireland ever gave birth, has vindicated the character of the Irish catholics against the ignorant calumnies of English usurpation and prejudice. Dean Swift, whose orthodoxy the established church will

not refuse to acknowledge, thus gives his opinion of the merits of the catholics and of their enemies, after the passing of the act of settlement.

“ These insurrections, wherewith the catholics are charged, from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the great English rebellion, were occasioned by many oppressions they lay under. They had no intention to introduce a new religion, but to enjoy the liberty of preserving the old; the very same which their ancestors professed from the time that christianity was first introduced into this island, which was by catholics; but whether mingled with corruptions, as some pretend, doth not belong to the question. They had no design to change the government; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison, to betray, to sell, to bring to a trial, or to murder, their king. The schismatics acted by a spirit directly contrary. They united in a solemn league and covenant to alter the whole system of spiritual government, established in all christian nations and of apostolic institution, concluding the tragedy with the murder of the king in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation, at the same time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth. The catholics of Ireland, in the great rebellion, lost their estates for fighting in defence of their king; the schismatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the son to fly for life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, religious and civil, obtained grants of those very estates which the catholics lost in defence of the ancient constitution—many of which estates are at this day

possessed by those schismatics ; and thus they gained by their rebellion what the catholics lost by their loyalty." This is a brief and comprehensive picture of the acts and fortunes of both parties ; and such a one as will not be denied by any honest or dispassionate reader.

Notwithstanding the palpable cruelty and injustice with which the Irish were treated by Charles in his settlement of the claims of the various parties in Ireland, we find the ascendancy spirit of the Cromwellians most grievously pained by the consideration, that even a single individual case of protection to the innocent Irish or catholic claimant, should be suffered to exist by the commissioners appointed to put the act of settlement into execution. They not only menaced a rebellion, but actually formed a conspiracy to seize the castle of Dublin, overturn the government, and again plunge the nation into blood ; so offended was the rapacious sensibility of those adventurers, whose numbers, as compared with the people of Ireland, were, in the opinion of Lord Ormond and Mr Carte, as one to ten. So true is it, that the property is the strength of the country ; and that those few who can wield it, may bid defiance to the angry menaces of a disarmed and beggared multitude. Before the rebellion of 1641, the Irish were, (according to a Colonel Lawrence, quoted by Dr Curry,) proprietors of ten acres to one that the English had in Ireland ; but after the act of settlement, those English were in possession, by that act, of four millions, five hundred and sixty thousand, and thirty-seven

acres; so that, (adds my author), if the majority of proprietors may give the denomination to a country, which usually it doth, Ireland may be called west England. Walsh, the author of the famous remonstrance, says, that they, "the Roman catholics of Ireland, were the lawful proprietors, and had been lately the possessors, of nineteen parts in twenty of the lands of that kingdom." The act of settlement banished thousands of those families which had lived in affluence and comfort; and the hand which executed it, was that of the king, for whose restoration they had brought their lives, their properties, and their children to the altar. Yet all this royal treason to humanity and justice, could not satisfy or conciliate the Cromwellian adventurers. All or none was their motto; and a feeble experiment was made by those insatiable fanatics to devour even the miserable pittance assigned to the original proprietors of the country. There was a point, however, beyond which Charles could not be driven; and the activity of Ormond in his Irish government soon extinguished the impotent efforts of insurrection.

Whenever the English parliament were inclined to amuse themselves with the torture of their fellow creatures, or to make experiments on human sensibility, Ireland was a convenient subject on which their malicious genius could be displayed, and with the approbation too of the whole English nation. If a royal favourite like Clarendon or Ormond, at this period were to be hunted down, Ireland was the road through which their pursuers were to pass.

Irish industry must be trampled upon, and the Irish arm must be chained. This would probably embarrass a rival, or distress the king, or create discontent, and thus lay new ground for future insurrections and future confiscations. To such a policy must we attribute the successful blow which the British parliament made at the existence of the poor people of Ireland. In their fury against this country, they displayed the grossest ignorance, as well as the most malignant feeling to injure Ireland. They were content to inconvenience themselves; but that which they inconsiderately supposed would contribute to impoverish, and ultimately render the Irish incapable of all future effort, may be considered as one of those providential instruments, by which the malevolence of nations to each other is often counteracted. When the celebrated cabal, composed of the most unprincipled and able men in England, such men as Shaftesbury, Buckingham and Lauderdale, declaimed against the importation of fat cattle from Ireland, they little contemplated that the necessities of England, induced by this absurd policy, would force her to throw open much more extensive sources of consumption, than even the market of England. Mr Leland thus observes on the folly of this malicious determination of England against Irish industry. “The English nation soon felt the inconveniencies of the act for the prohibition of fat cattle from Ireland. Discerning men saw the happy consequences which it must in time produce to Ireland; for the present, however, the Irish subjects were cast into despair; all commerce

was interrupted ; war made it necessary to guard against invasion ; subsidies were due, but no money could be found. Ormond thought it both necessary and convenient to accept part of those subsidies in provisions, consulting at once the king's service, and the ease of his distressed subjects ; nor was the king ill disposed to extenuate the present difficulties of Ireland. With the consent of his council, obtained not without some reluctance, he, by an act of state, allowed a free trade from Ireland to all foreign countries, either at war or in peace with his majesty. He permitted the Irish, at the same time, to retaliate on the Scots, who, copying from England, had prohibited their cattle, their corn, and their beef. The importation of linen and woollen manufactures, stockings and gloves, and other commodities from Scotland, was forbidden, as highly detrimental to the trade of Ireland." This inveterate policy of tying up the arm of Irish industry recoiled on those who adopted it. Provisions in England rose in price. This augmented the price of labour ; manufactures followed ; and thus the English loom fell a victim to foreign competition. All this was foretold by the opponents of so absurd a measure ; but party spirit swept away the understanding of parliament, and a bill disgraceful to the moral, as well as intellectual character of England, was imposed on the reluctant councils of the monarch. The conduct of the leaders in parliament on this desperate effort of their party, fully verifies and illustrates the observations made by the Earl of Essex, when lord lieu-

tenant of Ireland some years after. "Ireland," said his lordship, "has been perpetually rent and torn since his majesty's restoration; I can compare it to nothing better than the flinging the reward, upon the death of a deer, among a pack of hounds, where every one pulls and tears what he can for himself; for indeed it has been no other than a perpetual scramble." This may be considered a true epitome of our history, not only since the restoration of Charles, but since the first invasion of the English under Henry. Ireland has been the theatre of every political gambler, from Strongbow down to the humblest follower of ascendancy, whom we still see enriching his family in proportion to the zeal he exhibits in withholding the rights, or restraining the industry of Irishmen.

It is pleasing, however, to observe some little interruption to that profligate system of government which was perpetually dividing and distracting the people; which saw no security but in Irish misery, and no triumph but in Irish degradation. It is pleasant to observe the Duke of Ormond employing his talents in the establishment of Irish manufactures, and in the encouragement of Irish industry, and even, for a time, hanging up the sword of intolerance and the book of controversy. We therefore copy with pleasure from Mr Leland, the recital of those efforts which were made by Ormond in 1667, to give some compensation to Ireland for the destructive effects of that commercial and manufacturing jealousy which England had lately manifested in so remarkable a manner. Men of abi-

lities and knowledge in commerce (says Mr Leland) were encouraged by Ormond, to suggest their schemes for promoting industry and preventing the necessity of foreign importation. Sir Peter Pett presented a memorial to the Duke of Ormond, for erecting a manufacture of woollen cloth, which might at least furnish a sufficient quantity for home consumption. He chiefly recommended the making fine worsted stockings and Norwich stuffs, which might not only keep money in the country, but be so improved as to bring considerable sums from abroad. He offered to procure workmen from Norwich. The council of trade, lately established in Ireland, approved of his proposal. The Duke of Ormond encouraged it, and erected the manufacture at Clonmel, the capital of his country palatine of Tipperary. To supply the scarcity of workmen, Grant (a man well known by his observations on the bills of mortality) was employed to procure five hundred woollen protestant families from Canterbury to remove to Ireland. At the same time, Colonel Richard Laurence, another ingenious projector, was encouraged to promote the business of combing wool and making friezes. A manufacture of this kind was established at Carrick. But of all such schemes of national improvement, that of a linen manufacture was most acceptable to Ormond. He possessed himself with the noble ambition of imitating the Earl of Strafford in the most honourable part of his conduct, and opening a source of wealth and prosperity, which the troubles and disorders of Ireland had stopped. An act of Parlia-

ment was passed in Dublin, to encourage the growth of flax and manufacture of linen. Ormond was at the charge of sending skilful persons to the low countries, to make observations on the state of the trade, the manner of working, the way of whitening their thread, the regulations of their manufacture, and management of their grounds, and to contract with some of their artists. He engaged Sir William Temple to send to Ireland five hundred families from Brabant, skilled in manufacturing linen; others were procured from Rochelle and the isle of Rhe, from Jersey, and the neighbouring parts of France. Convenient tenements were prepared for the artificers at Chapelizod, near Dublin; where cordage, sail-cloth, linen, ticken and diaper, were brought to a considerable degree of perfection. "Such cares," Mr Leland truly observes, "reflect real honour on the governors who thus laboured to promote the happiness of a nation; and should be recorded with pleasure and gratitude, however we may be captivated by the more glaring objects of history." The historian of Ireland is seldom relieved in his office by the narration of such useful works as we have now described. The ingenuity to destroy rather than to build up, to disfigure rather than to adorn one of the finest countries in Europe, is almost, in every page, the subject of the writer. Whenever Irish industry is encouraged, the encouragement is found to flow from some struggle between parties, who, in the next page, are seen undoing the work they contributed with so much zeal to execute. There is no honest and

continued feeling in favour of Ireland. Her governors (in general mere birds of passage) obey every wind of prejudice which blows from the shores of an avaricious and envious nation.

The honourable efforts now made by Ormond to promote the manufactures and commerce of Ireland, soon excited the apprehensions of English jealousy, and the virulence of party combined with the national feeling to injure Ormond in the estimation and confidence of his sovereign. He was soon recalled from the administration, to which he was succeeded by Lord Roberts, who, in 1670, gave way to Lord Berkley.

The administration of this nobleman opened a new scene in Ireland. That portion of the community which had so long and so unjustly suffered under the malignant suspicions of an ascendant sect, suddenly became the favourites of those who were once the instruments of their persecution. The celebrated cabal, which were so near overturning the liberty of England, suggested to Charles the good policy of altering his mode of governing Ireland. They recommended his peculiar patronage of that religion and its members, who had already displayed so ardent a zeal in behalf of monarchy, and who struggled so fruitlessly to resist the tide of fanaticism which rushed from the fountain of English puritanism. The real views of the present councillors of Charles were to raise him and themselves on the ruins of England's freedom ; to extinguish the spirit of that parliament which was maintaining so splendid a contest with Charles, and which had

succeeded in extorting from that unprincipled monarch the most powerful bulwarks of human liberty. For this purpose they recommended the most cordial alliance with the French sovereign ; and the ministers of Charles, Clarendon, Buckingham, and others, stooped even to the degrading service of being the hired advocates of this French connection. The menaces of the popular leaders alarmed the fears of the monarch, and the devotion of his brother to the Catholic religion co-operating with the specious policy of being independent of parliamentary aid, prompted him to encourage a foreign connection, which might have terminated in the establishment of an unlimited monarchy.—Such were the plans of the king, and the designs of his ministers, when Lord Berkley, as lord lieutenant of Ireland, thought proper to manifest a peculiar partiality for the long depressed Irish Catholics. The poor people of Ireland, so long chained down by the violent hand of intolerance, feeling the fetters somewhat loosened, naturally gave full expression to their joy, and full swing to their partial triumph. The Catholic clergy participated in the general satisfaction, and have most grievously offended the ascendancy pride of Mr Leland. He has been pleased to say, that on this occasion they endeavoured to establish doctrines which they had a hundred times abjured, and that the intemperance of their joy forced them into the assertion of religious principles which must have offended the power from which they were then obtaining some relaxation of the fury of penal law.

It was a strange spectacle, and one which must have excited suspicion in the bosoms of observing Irishmen, to see the monarch who had so lately sacrificed them to the rapacity and violence of his most inveterate enemies, and his present advisers, who were most forward in the yell of persecution against the Catholics—it must have excited surprise to see such men suddenly revolutionizing the political power of Ireland—creating Catholic aldermen, Catholic Sheriffs, Catholic corporations, and (as Mr Leland most benevolently, and in the true spirit of Christian kindness, says) offending, by such “impious confidence in *papists*,” (as he is pleased to call the Catholics) the tender and loyal consciences of the protestants of Ireland. Such a revolution, and so unexpected, and coming from such a source, must have excited the suspicions of the reflecting Catholic; and though he embraced the hand which gave him even a temporary relief, he could not but have doubted the sincerity of the motive which suggested the protection; nor could he flatter himself with a long duration of the indulgence he experienced. So alarming a change roused the fears of all those adventurers who so lately thought themselves securely settled in their ill acquired properties. Another revolution was expected, and a renewal of all those sanguinary scenes which desolated Ireland, was revived in the imagination even of the boldest and least credulous among the colonists. A sensation so tremendous immediately found its way to England; and the hot-headed advocates of despotic power struck to the universal sentiment

of indignation which issued from all quarters of the country. They removed Lord Berkley from his Irish administration, and endeavoured to conciliate the power which they could not trample on. Charles would have tolerated the Irish catholic to enslave the English protestant, and conquering the latter, he would then put his foot on the neck of the former. This was his policy, and the policy of his brother. The effort, however, was ruinous to the poor devoted catholic. It exposed him to the experimentalizing malice of an English parliament. The latter, in 1675, again threw down the catholics to the earth, banished their priests, and gave marked encouragement to the ascendancy of the English protestant interest. The Earl of Essex was now Lord Lieutenant; his administration was not remarkable for any occurrence worthy of record.

Charles was obliged once more to have recourse to the artful Ormond, who is again appointed chief governor of Ireland. Mr Leland has the following interesting account of the first interview of Charles with Ormond, after a considerable interval of apparent displeasure. "It was now several years since the king had spoken to Ormond in any confidential manner, except when Shaftesbury was declared Lord Chancellor. On this occasion Charles ventured to take him apart and to ask his opinion of this measure. 'Your majesty,' said the duke, 'hath acted very prudently in committing the seals to Lord Shaftesbury, provided you know how to get them from him again.' After this short conference, the king relapsed into his former coldness. For almost

a year he never deigned to speak to the Duke, who, from his return to England, every day attended at the court. At length, in the month of April, 1677, Ormond was surprised by a message from the king that he would sup with him. Their interview was easy and cheerful, without any explanation or any discussion of past transactions. On parting, Charles signified his intentions of again employing him in Ireland. The next morning he saw the Duke at a distance, advancing to pay his usual duty. ‘Yonder comes Ormond,’ said Charles; ‘I have done all in my power to disoblige him, and to make him as discontented as others, but he will be loyal in spite of me; I must even employ him again, and he is the fittest person to govern Ireland.’” From this time he was designed to succeed Essex in the Irish administration.

The object of the King and Duke of York, in the appointment of Ormond in 1677, was to counteract the growing influence of Monmouth, the natural son of Charles, who was now anxiously looked up to by a powerful faction in England, as the fittest successor to the throne. Such was the royal homage to the talents and character of Ormond. It will be found that he acquitted himself with firmness and good sense in the performance of his high duties. No man was more anxiously interested in preventing a renewal of those dreadful calamities which had visited Ireland. Sufficient blood had flowed for Ormond; he had acquired splendid revenues, and he now studied to preserve them. We therefore find him exercising all his

prudence to counteract the vicious practices of the authors of Oates' plot, or as it was most foully called, the Popish Plot, who struggled to make Ireland the theatre of their murderous conspiracy.

The object of this plot, (hatched and encouraged by Shaftesbury, one of the ablest and most vicious characters in modern history) was to blast the reputation of the monarch and his brother, to prevent the succession of the latter, and to sacrifice on the altar of justice, the innocent and persecuted catholics of the empire.* For this the most abandoned ruffians were hired to swear away the lives of men they never saw, or whose names they scarcely knew; the gaols were swept for witnesses, and the wretch

* The Rev. Mr Grainger, in his biographical history of England, has the following account of this despicable wretch, whom the more abandoned promoters of this conspiracy encouraged to shed the blood of so many innocent men. "The infamous Titus Oates was, soon after the accession of king James, convicted of perjury, upon the evidence of sixty respectable witnesses, of whom *nine were protestants*; he was sentenced to pay a fine of two thousand marks; to be stripped of his canonical habit; to be whipped twice in three days by the common hangman; and to stand in the pillory at Westminster Hall gate, and at the Royal Exchange. He was, moreover, to be pilloried five times every year, and to be imprisoned during life. The hangman performed his office with uncommon rigour. The best thing James ever did, was punishing Oates for his perjury; and the greatest thing Oates ever did, was supporting himself under the most afflictive part of his punishment with the resolution and constancy of a martyr. A pension of four hundred pounds a-year was conferred upon this miscreant by king William; he was, for a clergyman, remarkably illiterate; it is well known that he was the son of an anabaptist; and he probably died in the communion in which he had been educated."

who was doomed to expiate a murder or a robbery, was released from the halter, on condition of his bearing false witness against the most respected and beloved of the people.—To such atrocious lengths did the furious ambition of party drive those very men who contributed to raise that proud and envied edifice of political freedom, for which England now stands distinguished in the world. Those perfidious and relentless conspirators thought to turn the tide of perjury into Ireland, and thus sweep away the beggared catholic population. Ormond interposed ; and Ireland, in which the great majority were catholics, was protected against that legal slaughter which the interested credulity of the English Parliament encouraged in England. Strong measures, however, were resorted to by Ormond, to guard, not so much against a plot which he did not credit, but against the malignant suspicions of his enemies in the English Parliament, whose views and characters he detested ; nor was the suppression and humiliation of the unfortunate catholic a subject of sorrow to him, so that he would not be forced to the adoption of measures which might once more drive the nation into madness and rebellion.*

* By the act of settlement, Ormond is represented by an author of this period (quoted by Dr Curry), called the “unkind deserter,” to have got the city of Kilkenny, and six other corporate towns, together with their lands and liberties, valued by himself and his friends of the council but at L.60,000, though they were well worth L.120,000. It is not very extraordinary, therefore, that Ormond should have interposed to prevent the progress of a conspiracy against the public feeling, and national religion, which might have again thrown every thing into confu-

Proclamations against the catholic clergy were issued, and every possible caution adopted to secure the protestant interest against any plans of conspiracy which might be meditated.* So infatuated

sion, and risked that immense property which he had acquired, after the passing through so many scenes of blood and devastation.

* Notwithstanding the malignant industry with which Shaftesbury and his friends have exerted themselves, to rake from the sweepings of the prisons of Ireland, something like testimony against the poor Irish, in support of his favourite scheme of the papist plot, it is rather singular that so few candidates for the infamous office were to be found. If a disgraced or excommunicated priest, who had smarted under the ecclesiastical lash, could be discovered, he was immediately courted by the advocates of "religious freedom," and either tortured or corrupted into evidence against the highest and most dignified of the catholic hierarchy. To some of those outcasts from religion and morality, the venerated Oliver Plunket, archbishop of Armagh, fell an innocent and unpitied victim. To the parliamentary leaders it was perfectly immaterial how abandoned the witness, or how guiltless the party, when they prosecuted. They thirsted for the sacrifice of popish blood, that they might the better exasperate the popular mind against their king and his brother, and under the specious pretext of defending their free constitution against the encroachments of arbitrary power, they stopped at no expedient, however infamous, to carry an object of such paramount importance. The legal murder of this venerated Irish prelate, was one of those expedients by which they thought they might exasperate Ireland into insurrection. Bishop Burnet (whose authority will not be questioned by Englishmen), gives the following account of the infamous proceedings against the Irish catholic archbishop:—

"Plunket (says Burnet) was at this time brought to trial. Some lewd Irish priests, and others of that nation, hearing that England was then disposed to hearken to good swearers, thought themselves well qualified for the employment, so they came over

was the fanaticism of the day, that if it had not been controlled by the better reflection of Ormond,

to swear that there was a great plot in Ireland. The witnesses were brutal and profligate men, yet the Earl of Shaftesbury cherished them much. They were examined by parliament at Westminster, and what they said was believed. Some of these priests were censured by him for their lewdness. Plunket had nothing to say in his defence, but to deny all; so he was condemned, and suffered very decently; expressing himself in many particulars as became a bishop. He died denying every thing that had been sworn against him."

Thus Burnet writes of this horrible transaction. By such detestable means did the great and leading patriots of England flatter themselves they could conquer the power of the crown. The tide of popular opinion at length began to ebb, and swept away, in its merciless course, those great champions of English rights. The English reader of English history, when he comes to the page which records the deaths of Russel or Sydney, may shed a tear over the fate of men devoted, as they were, to the establishment of his civil and religious freedom. But with what reflections can the Irish reader of Irish suffering follow the persecutors of their country and their religion to the scaffold? Will it not be considered by them as consolatory, that the malicious defamers of his country, and ambitious destroyers of the most exalted among his countrymen, should at length fall victims to that policy which visited their native land with such excessive calamity? As to Ireland, the partizans of English liberty have been the furious persecutors of her religion. The Sydneys and the Hampdens of England have been to Ireland its Neros and Caligulas. But a very few years have elapsed since the English patriot began to extend his principles of liberty to his Irish fellow-subjects. The highest and most enlightened senators of the British parliament have been (until the last few years) the creatures of a mean, jealous, and selfish policy, worthy of the most ignorant inhabitant of a counting-house. The Irishman, therefore, who thought and spoke in candour, was always accustomed to associate the free constitution of England with the degradation and suffering of his native land.

the proprietors of lands would have driven their tenants from their holdings; the manufacturers would have banished their workmen, and masters their servants,—yet this would have been a severe punishment to themselves, for all those various denominations were catholic. By the computation of Sir William Petty in 1679, there were about fifteen catholics to one protestant at this period.

The hopes of the sanguinary Shaftesbury to create an insurrection in Ireland, were blasted by the prudence of Ormond. The former was so incensed, that he brought forward a frivolous impeachment against Ormond; when Ossory, the distinguished son of Ormond, confronted this infamous conspirator, and extinguished him on his favourite theatre. The discovery of the Rye-house plot, (1682), in which the principal parliamentary leaders were involved, completely established the royal ascendancy over those distinguished persons, who were struggling (and often by the instrumentality of the most vicious means) to restrain the king's authority within the wholesome limits of a free constitution. The general alarm which ran through the country, lest it should again return to that dreadful state of anarchy from which it had but lately emerged, rallied the great majority round the throne; and the zealous precipitancy of the best friends of civil and religious liberty in England, was the means of causing that sudden change in the administration of the two countries, which soon after threatened the existence of the English constitution. Charles yielded to the counsel which suggested, that in the Irish

catholics he would find willing instruments where-with he might establish his favourite despotic principles, and that this was the happy moment to seize, when the popular party in Parliament had sunk so low in public estimation. He therefore determined to recal Ormond from his Irish administration, and substitute a lord-lieutenant who would be more inclined to act with sincerity on the new principles and with the new men whom Charles had determined to encourage.

The death of Charles taking place about this time (1685), opened a new scene in Ireland, and perhaps one of the most fruitful of instruction which has as yet come under the observation of the reader. He will see Ireland pass from the extremes of an intolerant and suspicious government to the opposite extreme of unlimited confidence. He will see the great majority of the Irish nation, who have so long been the drawers of water and the hewers of wood in their native land, suddenly raised into the station of governors and legislators; their religion not only tolerated, but peculiarly patronized; and the very persons who were but lately threatened with the scaffold, the victims of the suborned perjurer, promoted to the highest places of confidence and honour. If he looks back upon the reign through which he has passed, he will have to contemplate the most despicable object in the whole circle of our nature, namely, the sovereign of a great nation, not only forgetful of the services and the fidelity of the men who restored him to his throne, but actually courting his old enemies, the

murderers of his father, by the abandoned neglect and persecution of those who sacrificed every thing that was most dear, to his exaltation. If ever Charles has been seen to listen to the cries or the remonstrances of his Irish people, the reader may trace the royal motive to a principle of despotism. The English sovereign would strike off the chains of Ireland if she would join him in rivetting them on Englishmen. He would unbar their prison doors if they would volunteer to take up arms against the free constitution of England. Never was a monarch (may Ireland say) less deserving of the throne which he recovered, or better entitled to the infamy which now covers his memory.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

JAMES II.

A. D. THE reign to which we have now arrived, 1684. affords the best commentary on that vicious policy which distinguished the administration of Ireland during the last hundred and fifty years. The reader has already waded through a long period of Irish suffering, inflicted by the exasperating hand of intolerance. He has seen the sword which was drawn by Elizabeth against the religion and the liberties of the Irish nation, give way for some time, under the government of James I. to the more slow, though not less torturing devastation of a perfidious and unprincipled litigation. He has then passed to the heartless and sanguinary fanaticism of the English republicans, who would have sacrificed every inhabitant of Ireland on the altar of their demoniac liberty. From this scene of hypocrisy and cruelty, where the Bible was made the instrument of human misery, he has come to a period not less calculated

to excite the sympathy or the indignation of the reader ; namely, that which exhibits a whole nation sacrificed to the vengeance of their most relentless enemies, by that very sovereign for whose restoration they had exposed their lives, their families, and their properties. The black ingratitude of Charles II. to his faithful Irish subjects, is perhaps the most distressing picture which can be presented to the reflection of an Irishman. The infatuation of fanaticism, or the impulse of avarice or ambition, may account for the furious spirit of persecution with which the English reformers or colonists have ever pursued the poor people of our country ; but it is not so easy to account for the existence of that base and contemptible feeling which could humiliate a king, possessed of an almost uncontrollable power, so low as to minister to the passions of those very persons who were the leading persecutors of his best friends.

The people of Ireland must have witnessed with satisfaction the various and successful struggles which their favoured persecutors had with the ungrateful monarch. They must have triumphed in those vexations which that party caused in the royal bosom, when they reflected on the unprincipled policy of conciliating the common enemy at the expense of the sincere and faithful friend. It was left for the successor of Charles II. to do justice to a people who had so long suffered by their attachment to his family, and to extend that protection to their civil and religious freedom, which their fidelity so truly merited. Unfortunately for

Ireland, the hand which promised her protection was found unfit to govern. Devotedly attached to the catholic religion, James weakly exposed himself to the suspicions of his English protestant subjects. Too proud and too despotic by nature, he would not bend to the prayers or the threats of his people; he would listen to no dictation, nor be controlled by any power. The murmurs of parliament were not noticed, or if noticed, were despised. His great ambition seemed to be to frown them into silence, to insult the religious feelings of his people, and to establish an unlimited monarchy. There never was a period in the history of England, when an artful and judicious monarch could have so easily succeeded in raising an unlimited despotic power on the ruins of that free constitution which Englishmen then enjoyed. The recollection of that anarchy from which England so providentially emerged; the universal sentiment of abhorrence which ran through the nation against the hypocritical declaimers in favour of liberty and religion; the indignation lately excited by the attempt to destroy the king, and once more plunge the country into convulsion—all these considerations contributed to strengthen the arms of the sovereign, to lull the suspicions and diminish the caution of the people. Had James II. sought his way to despotism through the prejudices of the nation—had he dissembled and concealed his zealous attachment to that religion so much dreaded and abhorred by Englishmen, he might have succeeded in extinguishing their civil and religious liberties. Ireland

might have enjoyed, during this disastrous struggle, the advantages of a temporary toleration, but little time would have elapsed until she too would be swallowed up in the royal vortex, and even all hope of future liberty be completely destroyed. It is true, that during the short reign of James II. the Irish catholic was restored to the constitution of his country. In common with the protestant, he enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign. He was eligible to all situations of honour and profit under the crown; he was admitted into parliament and corporations; he was the dispenser of the laws and the distributor of justice. But it should be recollected that the monarch who extended this indulgence to the Irish catholic, would have made that catholic the instrument by which he could conquer the liberties of England; and the same power which could not bear the control of an English parliament, would soon turn on the hand that established his unlimited authority, and reduce it to the common level of English slavery. The Irish nation would in its turn be trampled upon by the despotic spirit of James, and the catholics of the present day perhaps would have been deploring the unfortunate circumstances, which induced their ancestors to co-operate with their sovereign in the destruction of a constitution which promised so many blessings to mankind.

No Irishman is so devoted to his religion or to his country as not to acknowledge the principles of despotism which influenced the conduct of James II.; but the candid reader, whether he be protes-

tant or catholic, must admit, that at the particular period when James thought proper to extend his royal protection to the long oppressed people of this country, no nation ever exhibited so many inducements to abuse the power with which accident had suddenly invested them. It remains for us to show, from the impartial records of history, whether the catholics of Ireland demeaned themselves, in this season of their prosperity, in such a manner as was not only consistent with those feelings which regulate our nature, but with those social sympathies which make us anxious to promote the happiness of our fellow-creatures.

The historians of the colony, (for no man should honour them with the title of Irish historians,) have struggled, by every mean and despicable artifice, to blacken the character of the Irish catholic during the reign of James II. The impudent falsehoods of Archbishop King, in his state of the protestants of Ireland during this reign, are audaciously echoed by Mr Leland. The two clergymen, in the fury of their invective, discover all the vicious malignity of polemics, and, in the true spirit of churchmen, represent the professors of catholic doctrine either as insatiable tyrants or degraded slaves. So extravagant are the accusations of King and Leland against the Irish during the reign of James II. that the most superficial observer of human nature requires no evidence to demonstrate their absurdity or their atrocity. In proportion as we approach the days in which we live, the necessity of pressing the advantages which must flow

from the practice of mutual charity, must occur to the reader. If the facts which the historian has before him, and which it is his duty to record, be calculated to inflame, to exasperate, and to multiply prejudices, we should suppose that he would not be anxious to make such mention of them as would contribute to increase their effect upon the reader. He would not adopt the little artifice of the daily adventurer in controversy, whose sole object and ambition is to malign his antagonist. Yet this is the tone in which Mr Leland has written the reign of James II.; and to the confidence with which he has handed down the unprincipled assertions and calumnious falsehoods of Archbishop King, may be attributed perhaps much of the foolish and ungenerous principles which have been so obstinately maintained by the most distinguished of modern days. They stop not to inquire or to investigate; they pause not to reflect on the peculiar circumstances of the Irish people, at the period they are charged with intolerance, cruelty, and violence. They never consider the character of their libeller, his motives or his rewards; they go on reading without thought, and deciding without justice.

Never was a nation more abused by an historian, than Ireland has been by Mr Leland; it would appear as if he had studiously and elaborately compiled his history in order to perpetuate those prejudices and follies which every good man would gladly extinguish. He has, in glaring and splendid phrase, set forth the insolent ascendancy of the Irish catholic during the reign of James II. He

has represented him as wreaking his vengeance on the prostrate English protestant, for the long course of humiliation which his country suffered. He has made no allowance for the excesses of that public spirit which had so long been chained to the ground, nor does he ever speak of the acts of James's catholic government, but in terms the most contemptuous or malignant. The pride of ascendancy which animated the bosom of Archbishop King, seems to have transmigrated to that of Mr Leland; and the reader would suppose that Leland's history of the reign of James II. was written almost immediately after the triumph of the Prince of Orange, when the passions were inflamed, and the heart was exasperated, by the recollection of sufferings which a sudden revolution will ever inflict on its victims. Mr Leland's prejudices will not suffer him to allow talent in the catholic judge or the catholic officer of the crown. The great abilities of James's attorney-general, Mr Nangle, which Lord Clarendon so often acknowledges, are noticed by Mr Leland, only to be treated with a contemptuous observation. The catholic general can display no courage, nor no military skill sufficient to call forth the admiration of this historian of the pale. If the Irish catholic priest should rejoice in the toleration of his religion, he is represented by Mr Leland as a vain and insulting fanatic. Human nature must keep down her feelings to please the fastidious judgment of such an historian. The Irishman must look sad because his civil and religious liberty is restored; and he must join the Eng-

lish in their hatred of that sovereign, under whose protection he was for the first time protected against the sanguinary intolerance of English councils.

Ireland, with that candour which distinguished her, even in her most adverse hours, indulged in the utmost excesses of joy and of triumph, when she found herself governed by a monarch who would not insult her religion, nor trample on her rights. She stood by James II. for the very same reason which prompted England to abandon him. She saw herself restored to her proper station in Europe, making her own laws, asserting her own independence, encouraging her own talents, cherishing her own strength, and putting forth her own inexhaustible resources. Ireland saw and felt all this, under a monarch whom Englishmen justly considered as the violator of English liberty, and the enemy of their beloved religion. We shall find, by a faithful view of the occurrences of this reign, whether James II. merited from the great majority of the Irish nation, that fond partiality they entertained for him. They did not stop to reflect on the motives of the British monarch.— They experienced his protection, and they gave him a liberal return in the overflowing zeal of their attachment. Had James succeeded against William, the British constitution might have been overturned, and an unlimited monarchy might have been the result of the inglorious struggle; but under the existing circumstances of Irishmen, he is an uncandid and dishonest observer who will not give credit to that feeling which bound the Irish

nation so stedfastly to the cause and fortune of James. No man who has read the history of British liberty, or who has marked the progress of those who distinguished themselves in establishing its principles from age to age, will deny that the catholic is entitled to the high praise of being instrumental to the production of that perfect system of freedom, which now constitutes the pride and glory of the English nation. The professors of the religion of Ireland have been the great founders of the British constitution. Little more has been done by the English protestant reformers than to echo that spirit which distinguished their catholic ancestors. The catholics, in the days of the Edwards and the Henrys, were not less alive to the blessings of political freedom, than the murderers of Charles I., or the fanatical organizers of Oates' plot, in the time of Charles II. The petition of rights, or the bill of rights, is little more than declaratory of the great commanding principles of Magna Charta. The latter was the offspring of Catholic spirit, the former of Protestant. The Catholic laid the foundation of the English constitution; the Protestant built the superstructure, and put the last hand to that immortal edifice.

Justice Blackstone has borne testimony to the labours of our catholic ancestors. In his enumeration of the instances in which the fundamental principles of the British constitution were asserted by the people of England, he carries back his readers to that period when England was entirely

catholic, and begins with the great charter, or Magna Charta, which was obtained, sword in hand, by the catholics from King John, and afterwards, with some alterations, confirmed in Parliament by King Henry III. his son; “which charter,” says Justice Blackstone, “contained very few grants; but, as Edward Coke observes, was for the most part declaratory of the principal grounds of the fundamental laws of England, afterwards by the statute, *confirmatio cartarum*, whereby the great charter is directed to be allowed as the common law; all judgments contrary to it are declared void; copies of it are ordered to be sent to all the cathedral chapels, and read twice a-year to the people, and sentence of excommunication is directed to be as constantly denounced against all those that, by word, deed, or counsel, act contrary thereto, or in any degree infringe it.”—These were the acts of the English catholics; and yet it will be urged again and again that the catholic religion is the religion of the slave. This vulgar error, however, is losing ground; and the progressive illumination of his protestant fellow subjects is daily doing justice to the religion and political principles of the catholic. The ardour with which the Irish catholic combated on the side of James II. is by no means incompatible with the character which we have given of his religion. Every feeling of human nature urged the Irish catholics to fight the battles of James, and the fidelity with which they maintained his cause and fought in his ranks, is their best commendation to an enlightened protestant mo-

narch. They demonstrate, that the Irish nation will ever be true to that power which does justice to their feelings. When James II. ascended the English throne, great hopes were entertained by the Irish that there would be some relaxation of that rigid government which distinguished his faithless predecessor. The latter had experienced the folly of endeavouring to conciliate his enemies by the abandonment of his friends, and James was induced, by religious as well as political feelings, not to follow an example which produced so much uneasiness to his brother. The character of James is admitted by his greatest enemies to be of the most candid and fearless nature. Full of the sacredness of his authority as a monarch, he had no idea of being subject to control from the voice of his subjects. He expected and commanded universal obedience; and, in his anxiety to extend his protection to those of his subjects who professed the religion to which he himself was attached, he could not brook the opposition of that party who had brought his father to the block, and would have pursued his brother with the same sanguinary fury.

James had been witness to such scenes of hypocrisy, fanaticism, and cruelty, and practised too by men who were perpetually declaiming on the blessings of political and religious freedom, that we need not be much surprised when we see him cautious of reposing confidence in those whom no concessions could conciliate, and whom no indulgence could satisfy. He therefore naturally turned

his attention to that portion of his subjects who had distinguished themselves by the sincerity of their attachment to their sovereign, and he was too proud to turn back or retrace those steps which his more prudent advisers whispered him were dangerous and impracticable. It was not easy for a monarch, even of profounder judgment than James, to determine upon that line of conduct which could best secure him against the encroachments of popular ambition. Mr Hume, in one of the wisest passages of his valuable history, takes the following view of the characters of those men with whom the unfortunate Stuarts had to contend. We shall give the entire passage, as it is the best vindication of that conduct which James determined to adopt with those haughty popular spirits who boldly wrestled with the monarch for the liberties of their country. Speaking of the popular parliamentary leaders in the time of Charles and James, Mr Hume writes as follows: " More noble perhaps in their ends, and highly beneficial to mankind, they must also be allowed to have been less justifiable in the means; and in many of their enterprizes to have paid more regard to political than to moral considerations. Obligated to court the favour of the populace, they found it necessary to comply with their rage and their folly; and have even, on many occasions, by propagating fictions and by promoting violence, served to infatuate and corrupt that people to whom they made a tender of liberty and justice. Charles I. was a tyrant, a papist, and a contriver of the Irish massacre. The church of

England was relapsing fast into idolatry. Puritanism was the only true religion, and the covenant the favourite object of heavenly regard. Through these delusions the party proceeded, and, what may seem wonderful, still to the increase of law and liberty, till they reached the imposture of the popish plot, a fiction which exceeds the ordinary bounds of vulgar credulity. But, however singular these events may appear, there is really nothing altogether new in any period of modern history ; and it is remarkable, that tribunitian arts, though sometimes useful in a free constitution, have been usually such as men of probity and honour could not bring themselves either to practise or approve. The other faction, which, since the revolution, had been obliged to cultivate popularity, sometimes found it necessary to employ like artifices."

It is to be lamented, that the characters whom history hands down to the admiration of posterity, are too often to be found the servile instruments of the most vicious and abandoned policy ; that the advocates of popular rights, were often ministering to the malignant passions of fanaticism ; and that even the venerated names of Hampden, of Russel, and of Sydney, are to be found among the persecutors of conscience, and the patrons of the grossest intolerance. It is not to be wondered, that a monarch reared in the school of despotism, with the example of his predecessors before him, whose authority was seldom restrained by the popular voice, should feel indignant at the remonstrances of

his subjects, when they presumed to dictate to their sovereign, the religion he ought to profess, and the men in whom he ought to repose his confidence. James had not the judgment to discern the point at which he ought to resist, or to submit. He spurned the control of the people, and embraced the principles, and the country which were ready to humour his prejudices, or gratify his ambition.

Soon after James ascended the throne of England, an ill concerted experiment was made by the Duke of Monmouth, (1685), to raise a rebellion in England, and overturn the government. In this struggle he was supported by some of the great popular and parliamentary leaders of England. The people of Ireland particularly distinguished themselves on this occasion by the promptitude of their exertions in support of the crown; and the king soon seized the opportunity to manifest his gratitude by a marked predilection for their religion and their principles. He disarmed the protestant militia, among whom he suspected the rebellious principles of his English subjects were lurking, and conferred the title of Earl of Tyrconnel on Colonel Richard Talbot, who was a distinguished catholic officer. He appointed his brother-in-law, Lord Clarendon, to the vice-regency of Ireland. James's instructions to this nobleman were liberal and enlightened. He resolved to break the chains of intolerance, and ordered that his catholic subjects should not be excluded from the advantages of the constitution. He introduced them into corpora-

tions, and invested them with magistracies and judicial offices. Mr Leland says, that this extraordinary indulgence to the Irish catholics, exposed their protestant fellow countrymen to perpetual hazard and inquietude ; that they were left naked to the fury of their most relentless enemies. Lord Clarendon, the lord lieutenant at that period, on the contrary, in his speech to the Irish parliament, felicitates the country on the universal concord which such measures of conciliation, as were recommended by his master, promised to produce in this country ; and he frequently bears testimony to the tranquillity which the nation experienced when he assumed the reins of administration. It was now reasonable that the thousands of the Irish people who were reduced to beggary by the infamous arrangement called the act of settlement, should at this period appeal to a monarch who was disposed to protect them—at least to make them some compensation for the distress and injustice, which they experienced from that disastrous measure. Almost twenty years had elapsed since the passing of the act of settlement, and the evils attending the repeal, might now have in a great measure counterbalanced the advantages. The protestants might have been drawn into a rebellion, and the catholics might again be exposed to the horrors of another convulsion ; for the present, therefore, the repeal of this act was not pressed, but the army and corporations were new modelled. It appears, that the instructions of James went no farther, than, that all subjects indiscriminately, should be admitted to

serve him, without regard to their religious principles ; but the Earl of Tyrconnel gave full swing to his attachments, and excluded the protestants from the Irish army. The expectations of the people naturally rose with the protection they received, and they flattered themselves with the restoration of those properties of which they were so cruelly deprived. Such a revolution could not easily take place during the administration of Clarendon. It was therefore resolved that he should surrender his situation to a man who would follow the wishes of the people and the sovereign with less reluctance. Were the readers of Mr Leland to give implicit credit to every accusation he has brought against the violence of the catholics during this administration, he would be inclined to agree with this most fanatical persecutor of that great body, that there should be no relaxation to the controul of protestant ascendancy. But Mr Leland (who copies all his statements from Archbishop King, and who has forgotten to give any part of the triumphant refutation written by Mr Leslie, a distinguished protestant divine, in 1692, which the archbishop never had the confidence to reply to,) seems to have employed all his industry to represent the conduct of the catholics during the reign of James II., in such a light as would vindicate that infamous penal code which was soon after imposed on the unoffending catholics of Ireland. Archbishop King, whose narration is as absurd as it is false, determined to atone, by the profligacy of his falsehoods against the Irish, for the principles he

maintained, when he considered James secure in the seat of sovereignty.* Mr Leslie, in his reply to

* We have set forth many instances in which the pious and honest archbishop has been directly contradicted by the highest and most respectable authority : but as the great majority of the readers of this compendium may never have had an opportunity of seeing this very precious compilation of lies, which Mr Leland has thought proper to make the principal source of his information during the reign of James II. we shall here set down two passages which will enable the intelligent reader to form his conclusions respecting either the religion or the integrity of the reverend bishop. To those who have perused the vicious absurdities of poor Sir Richard Musgrave, who wrote an account of all the murders, rapes, and robberies committed by the Irish in the year 1798, and from whose production Lord Cornwallis, when lord lieutenant of Ireland, peremptorily and indignantly ordered the author to take his name, lest the world should conclude that his Lordship was the patron of such destructive nonsense ;—to those also, who had witnessed the steady going, trading, political gait of Dr Patrick Duigenan, and who have read that sweet and pious doctor's anathemas against his countrymen, the quotations we shall make from the pages of Archbishop King, will not perhaps be matter of great surprise. It is more than probable that the fancy of either Musgrave or Duigenan may have outrun even the inflamed imagination of King ; if so, certainly Duigenan and Musgrave are objects of greater curiosity, when we consider the enlightened days in which it has been their good or ill fortune to live. The dissenters of the present day from the religion of the catholic, join with the latter in the general laugh at the comical credulity of these polemics ; and the British parliament, who are sometimes put to the torture by Duigenan, are obliged, in self-defence, to quit the house when the doctor rises. If Archbishop King commits an outrage on the feelings or the common sense of his reader of the present day, the latter should make some allowance for the period in which the bishop wrote his calumnies. He himself, according to Dr Leslie, was once the ardent advocate of James II. and passive obedience. The scene changed ; and William being in possession, the learned

Archbishop King, has the following anecdote of the archbishop, which this libeller of the Irish catholic never thought proper to contradict :

doctor had no protection against his past errors, but the fury of his denunciations against his old friends. It was, therefore, in his opinion, most prudent to represent the catholics of Ireland, who were the leading and ascendant party during James's government in Ireland, as monsters, cut-throats, murderers, perjurers, robbers—and worse, if the English language could produce more opprobrious denominations. Like Musgrave, Archbishop King estimates the truth of his facts by their atrocity, and, as has been often said of our modern retailers of murders, he would give little thanks for any story in which one or two murders at least, were not there committed. Archbishop King gives to his reader an account of the various expedients adopted by James II. and the Irish catholics, to destroy the property of their protestant countrymen. It was an ingenious contrivance, no doubt ; but one which, Archbishop King says, would have never been thought of, were it not for the diabolical but fertile fancy of the abandoned Irish catholic priests. We do not want the authority of Mr Leslie or Lord Clarendon to contradict the silly statement we are now about to extract from Archbishop King ; but the reader will not forget that even this is moderation, compared with many pages which we would not excite his disgust by quoting.

“ During the reign of James II. in Ireland, estates, both in city and country, were rendered fruitless to protestants ; but yet, whilst the cattle and the great manufactories and staple commodities of the kingdom were in their hands ; whilst they had the wool and the hides, the tallow and the butter, which bring in all the money that is in the kingdom, all the former arts would not have undone them ; and therefore some means must be used to get their stocks from them. It seemed not decent for the government to seize on them as they seized on our houses and arms. It was not thought prudent to give a positive order for doing it—the truth is, there was no need of it ; it was sufficient to connive at the new raised men to have it done. The priests had every man that came to mass to get a skean and half pike,

“ No man,” says Mr Leslie, “ was or could be a higher assertor of passive obedience than Dr

at least ; and they whispered to the people that it was not for nothing that they were thus armed. They assured them, that whatever injury they did to their protestant neighbours would be forgiven them, only they advised them not to shed blood ; sometimes they went along to see it effectually done, and sometimes they imposed it as a penance on such as came to them for absolution, to rob some of their protestant neighbours. This (says the honest doctor,) may seem improbable, but we have had creditable informations of it, and it will not seem so unlikely, if we consider that the priests reckoned the taking and keeping them no sin ; and lastly, that some of the greatest of those robberies were committed in lent, when they do their penances ; and therefore they could not be tempted at that time to steal and kill in order to eat, for in some places they killed whole flocks, and left them dead on the place. These robberies began in November 1688 ; and by the end of March next after, they hardly left one protestant in Ireland a cow or a sheep. Ireland has always been famous for its pastures, and the riches of it have always consisted in cattle, of which many gentlemen had vast stocks ; for a man to have six, eight, or ten thousand sheep was very common. All these were gone in three months, to the value of at least a million of money ; which, if rightly managed, would, with the cows and bullocks, of which there were likewise great herds, have furnished an army of one hundred thousand men with flesh enough for three years. Those who took them from the protestants, destroyed them without consideration : they killed them by fifties, and threw them into bog pits ; they took off their skins, and left their carcasses to rot, and made all the havoc of them imaginable.”

So goes the worthy bishop from the beginning to the end of one shocking mass of horrible impossibilities ; and to crown this work, he gravely states, that the chief justice of the king’s bench, and all the judges of that day, not only suffered the committers of such incredible outrages to go unpunished, but did actually declare that such robberies, as this bishop describes, were “ necessary evils.” The most savage nations cannot produce such

King had been all his lifetime. Even at the beginning of the revolution, he told a person of ho-

an administration of justice as Ireland must have suffered under in 1689, if a tenth of the report of Archbishop King be well founded. The archbishop passes from the persecution of the cows and sheep and pigs of the Irish protestants by James and his judges, to their equally relentless persecution of their religion and its pastors. A good deal of the virulence and malignity which the following lines exhibit, may be traced to that unfortunate *esprit de corps* which too often distinguishes ecclesiastics of all persuasions ; but the representation here given is so contrary to truth, that it required all the bishop's impudence to obtrude it on his reader. We shall close this note with a few extracts from somewhat better authorities than Dr King, to show that the poor doctor must have been smiling when he was writing the following very comical fiction :

“ I might add (writes the doctor,) as a fifth means of destroying the protestant religion, and slackening discipline, the universal corruption of manners that was encouraged at court. I do not charge King James with this in his own person, nor will I insinuate that he designed it, though he took no care to redress it ; but it looked like a design in some, and whether designed or no, it served the ends more than can easily be imagined, and opened a wide door for it. That kingdom that is very corrupt in morals, and debauched, is in a very fair way to embrace that persuasion ; and generally these proselytes were such as had renounced Christianity in their practice before they renounced the principles thereof, as taught in the reformed churches ; and many Roman catholics declared that they would rather have us profess no religion at all than the protestant. In short, whether it was from the looseness of the principles of their religion, or from a design to gain on protestants, impiety, profaneness and libertinism were highly encouraged and favoured ; and it was observable, that very few came with King James into Ireland, that were remarkable for any strictness or severity of life ; but rather, on the other hand, they were generally signal for their viciousness and looseness of morals. The perjuries in the courts, the robberies in the country, the lewd practices in the

nour, from whose mouth I had it, that ‘ if the Prince of Orange came over for the crown, *he*

stores, the oaths, blasphemies and curses in the streets and armies, the drinking of confusions and damnations in towns, were all of them generally acts of papists. This universal viciousness (continues the pious doctor) made discipline impossible, and whatever protestants were infected with it, were entirely lost to their religion and the church ; for the stress of salvation, according to the principles of the reformed religion, depends on virtue and holiness of life, without which neither sorrow for sin nor devotion will do a man any justice ; whereas, he that hears mass daily in the Roman church, kneels often before a crucifix, and believes firmly that the Roman church is the catholic, and that all out of her communion are damned, makes not the least doubt of his salvation, though he be guilty of habitual swearing, drunkenness, and many other vices ; and the observation of this indulgence gained them most of their proselytes that went over to them, of the lewd women and corrupted gentry ; and many amongst themselves had so great a sense of this advantage, that it made them very favourable to debauchery, and openly profess that they had a much better opinion of their lewdest persons that died in their own communion, than of the strictest and most devout protestant ; and they would often laugh at our scrupling a sin, and our constancy and prayers, since, as they would assure us with many oaths, we must only be damned the deeper for our diligence ; and they could not endure to find us go about to punish vice in our own members ; since, said they, it is to no purpose to trouble yourselves about vice or virtue, that are out of the church, and will all be damned.”

These extracts from the pious and Christian labours of this liberal archbishop, will, it is hoped, satisfy the reader. He will ask himself, perhaps, is this the authority on which Mr Leland founds his defamatory account of the state of Ireland, during the reign of James II. ? or has the Irish protestant been doomed to get from the hands of a protestant clergyman, almost of the present day, a second edition of that vile absurd scurrility which excites the disgust and indignation of every enlightened protestant who reads it ? Dr Curry, whose memory should for ever be dear

prayed God might blast his designs !” This, no doubt, was a most pious ejaculation, and one

to Ireland, has done a good deal in the refutation of these infamous slanders, which the candidates for mitres have so industriously circulated. Dr Leslie, who replied to Archbishop King, and whose reply never was answered nor contradicted, gives a very different account of the practices and conduct of the protestant clergy ; to which practices he attributes the rapid decay of that religion in Ireland. Dr Leslie, being a protestant clergyman himself, is no bad authority on such a subject ; he thus writes : “ I was myself a witness, that atheism, contempt of all religion, debauchery and violence, were more notorious and universal in the protestant army in Ireland, from 1688 to 1692, and more publicly owned, than since I have known the world. To my knowledge several have turned papists, on account of the lewdness of the army and the apostacy of the clergy.” Marshal Schomberg, in a letter to King William, thus writes his opinion on the same subject :—“ I did not find (says the General) that the protestant clergy apply themselves enough to their duty,—while the Romish priests are passionate to exhort the people to die for the church of Rome, in putting themselves at their head.”—This letter is dated December 1689.—*Dalrymple’s Memoirs*, vol. III. p. 59.

But Bishop Burnet is still more explicit in his reasons for the very corrupt state of the protestant church, during the pious ministry of Archbishop King ; and the reader will find a good portrait of Archbishop King himself, drawn by the hand of his episcopal brother. “ A disbelief (says Bishop Burnet, in his History of his own Times) of revealed religion, a profane mocking of the Christian faith and the mysteries of it, became scandalous and avowed ; and it must be confessed, that the behaviour of many protestant clergymen during the time of James II. gave atheists no small advantage. They had taken the oaths to read the prayers for the present government ; they observed the orders for public fasts and thanksgivings ; and yet they showed in many places their aversion to our establishment too visibly. This made many conclude that the protestant clergy were a sort of men that would swear and pray even against their consciences rather than lose

which cannot fail to raise the person who uttered it very high in the estimation of a protestant reader. Yet this man, who thus swore, was one of their benefices; and by consequence, that they were governed by interest and not by principle. Upon the whole matter, the nation was falling into a general corruption, both as to morals and principles; and that was so much spread among all sorts of people, that it gave us great apprehensions of heavy judgments from Heaven."

Here the reader sees a protestant depose against another protestant bishop; and Queen Mary, in a letter to her husband William, July 1690, thus gives her opinion:—"I must put you in mind of one thing, believing it is now the season, (the king was then in Ireland) which is, that you would take care of the protestant church in Ireland; every body agrees that at present it is the worst in Christendom." Yet such a revered pastor as Archbishop King, feels himself perfectly warranted to read lectures on morality and religion to the catholic clergy of Ireland. The reader will now be able to judge the quantum of Christian benevolence, and mildness and toleration, to which this ecclesiastical authority of Mr Leland may fairly lay claim. So much as we have here set down is only due to the acknowledged purity of character of which the catholic clergy may boast, during the sad and varied misfortunes of their country. The circumstances in which they have been ever placed since the Reformation, in a great manner induced that unbending integrity and truth which so eminently distinguished them. These were the great bonds which bound them to the people—which made the latter bow to their authority and obey their instructions. It was this Christian courage, which no disasters of their country could shake, that has made them so powerful and influential among their flocks, and which, since the Revolution, has made the best men in the whole circle of society the most formidable to governments of intolerance. It is qualities like those which suggested to the narrow and prejudiced the necessity of a controul to counterbalance their authority; such a controul as would lead to the gradual corruption of the priest, and the certain overthrow of his proper influence.

the most crouching sycophants to that very king whose designs he prayed God to blast. But Mr Leslie continues to describe this gospel authority of Mr Leland. "In a letter to a person of undoubted credit, in the year 1686, Archbishop King thus wrote:" (and the reader is requested to attend to the slippery materials of which some churchmen are composed) "that 'the principle of non-resistance was a steady principle of loyalty;' and that 'it was intolerable for the members of any state to flee to foreign succours, on the pretence that their own governors had made laws against reason, conscience, and justice;' yet this is one of the principal arguments in the book above-mentioned, for justifying the revolution. What I have now written," says Mr Leslie, "I have from the person who wrote it; and if he desires it, his letter shall be produced." Archbishop King did not court an investigation of his old principles, and was silent; he trusted entirely to the fury of his hostility against the Irish, for the quantity of credit which he might possibly enjoy with his English reader. Such is the foundation or authority on which Mr Leland builds his charges against the Irish, during the reign of James II. With respect to Archbishop King's book, called "The State of the Protestants in Ireland, during the Reign of James II.," Mr Leslie gave it the following character in 1692. "I cannot say that I have examined into every single matter of fact which this author relates; I could not have the opportunity: but I am sure I have looked into the most material,

and by these you may easily judge of his sincerity in the rest: but this I can say, that there is not one I have inquired into, but I have found false in the whole, or in part aggravated or misrepresented, so as to alter the whole face of the story, and give it perfectly another air and turn, insomuch that though many things he says are true, yet *he has hardly spoken a true word*; that is, told it truly and nakedly without a warp." And Mr Leslie further adds, that "when Dr King seems most exact, and sets his quotations in the margin, that his reader may suspect nothing, then he is to suspect most, and stand upon his guard." The archbishop survived the publication of Mr Leslie's reply for thirty years, and continued during that long period unmoved by the triumphant refutation of his slanders against the Irish.

The Earl of Clarendon has, in his letters, refuted most of the calumnies of Archbishop King. As lord lieutenant, he had the best opportunity of seeing the conduct and ascertaining the disposition of the catholics during this period of their history. Were we to credit King, we should conclude that the moment the catholics got into power they commenced an atrocious legal persecution against the unfortunate protestant. That there were bitter resentments rankling in the bosom of the Irish catholics; that many of them would have seized this opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on their old oppressors; that they would have sought the restoration of those properties of which they thought themselves most unjustly deprived; that many of

them considered the protestants their most inveterate enemies—are facts which require no evidence to demonstrate the truth of. He who has gone through the pages which precede this reign, will not wonder that human nature should have so felt or so acted. It is the miserable, but necessary consequence of the cruelties and persecutions they experienced ; and one which should have taught all future governments, that sooner or later the despot meets his punishment in the un pitying vengeance of the persecuted. Yet we have the best authority for stating, that the catholics of 1685 did not turn upon their old pursuers, as Archbishop King describes ; and that the most enlightened and distinguished among them were disposed to demean themselves by their protestant countrymen with the mildest spirit of toleration. The Earl of Clarendon has vindicated the Irish catholics against the calumnies of their enemies ; and his authority will not be denied, who was considered by the protestants of Ireland their most anxious patron. Archbishop King states, that “ when the papists,” as he is pleased to call the Irish catholics, “ got judges and juries that would believe them, they began a trade of swearing and ripping up what they pretended their protestant neighbours had said of King James, when Duke of York, on the time of the popish plot ;” and that of those protestants “ many were found guilty and excessively fined, and some of them imprisoned for their fines, not being able to satisfy the king, who seized both their body and estates :” so writes the archbishop ;

but what says the Earl of Clarendon? He tells us, that “when catholic judges went to the assizes in the counties of Down and Londonderry, where many considerable persons were to be tried for words formerly spoken against James, they took as much pains as was possible to quiet the minds of the people wherever they went, and that they took care to have all the juries mingled half English and half Irish.” Is it thus justice is administered to the catholics, even at the present day? Are protestant judges found recommending the equitable principle that the catholic should be tried by a jury, half English and half Irish, or in other words, half protestant and half catholic? But Archbishop King particularises the county Meath as the principal theatre on which the catholics displayed their persecuting spirit. Lord Clarendon’s account is somewhat different; and his lordship too, with respect to the county Meath, is not less particular than the archbishop. He says, “that Judge Daly, one of the catholic judges, did, at the assizes of that county, enlarge much on the unconscionableness of indicting men upon words spoken so many years before; that he told the jury, that most of those then charged before him in court, could give a good account of themselves, and were well known in the counties where they lived; and that thereupon the jurors, the major part of whom were Irish, acquitted them. Mr Justice Nugent, another catholic judge, made the same declaration at Drogheda, where several persons were tried for words upon bills found at the former assizes, and they were all acquitted,

except one man, who was found guilty and fined in five pounds."

But the Earl Clarendon gives a stronger instance of the spirit of equity and moderation, which influenced the conduct of the principal Irish catholics,—of the men who had the power to injure and oppress, if they were inclined. This single instance is a sufficient reply to the archbishop's entire book. Lord Clarendon, in a letter to Lord Sunderland, the confidential minister of James, writes as follows: "It is thought fit I should recommend men to some towns for mayors, sheriffs, and common council men. In such cases, I advise with those who are best acquainted with those towns, particularly with Mr Justice Daly* (a catholic judge) and others of the king's council of that persuasion, and the lists of the names those men give me, are always equal, half English and half Irish, which they say is the best way to unite and make them live friendly together."

Mr Leland has artfully set down the intemperance of the Earl of Tyrconnel for the settled principles of the enlightened catholics, who occupied the highest situations of honour and profit under the crown. He speaks in terms of contempt of those distinguished lawyers and judges, of whom the Earl of Clarendon, who daily experienced the greatness of their talents and the purity of their principles, constantly speaks with respect and vene-

* It is hoped that the protestant Justice, Daly, of 1813, will take a note of this passage; he will not be the worse for it.

ration. At the same time that he deprecates the violence of Tyrconnel, he feebly admits the claims which the most leading catholics had on the respect of their protestant countrymen. The Earl of Clarendon was obliged to give way to the Earl of Tyrconnel. The ministers of James suspected that Clarendon was not sufficiently zealous in the cause of their master, and that the royal interests, even in his short administration, might be much better secured. The people of England had now been convinced of the real views of James; that he had determined to put himself above the laws of their country; to change their religion, and with their religion, those precious privileges for which they had so long struggled. The king, on the other hand, saw the public mind receding from him, and considered the importance of effecting a secure retreat in the affections of his Irish subjects. He had completely broken with the church, and now endeavoured to play off the presbyterians and catholics against his ecclesiastical enemies. He had resolved to give the fullest toleration to the catholics, and declared his hostility to all those persecuting laws which, from the influence of the church, had been enacted both against the dissenters and catholics. "Not content," says Mr Hume, "with granting dispensations to particular persons, he assumed the power of issuing a declaration of general indulgence, and of suspending, at once, all the penal statutes by which a conformity was required to the established religion. James determined, if possible, to conquer the free spirit of

Englishmen ; he trampled on those securities which they considered as the bulwarks of their liberty ; and thus admitted into the bosom of the constitution, that party who would not hesitate in co-operating with James to destroy it." The people of Ireland, the great majority of whom were catholic, naturally glowed with enthusiastic gratitude to that monarch who had so generously struck off the bolts of the penal laws, and had admitted every man in Ireland, without any restraint on his conscience or violation of his religious principles, to enjoy the highest privileges of the state. They rejoiced to see their countryman, the Earl of Tyrconnel, invested with full powers to put into execution the royal wishes ; and though the enemies of Ireland have represented this Irish nobleman as violent, tyrannical, furious, and precipitate, yet he succeeded, in a short time, so to new-model every branch of political power in Ireland, that the Irish nation was, in the hour of James's adversity, the last and strongest pillar of his power. The law, the army, and the corporations, were soon filled with catholics, and the parliament shortly partook of the character of the corporations. That the protestants, who had so long maintained an exclusive monopoly of all the emoluments and honours of office, who were the legislators and administrators of law, who enjoyed an undivided controul over the property and industry of the country, should now be loud in their complaints against the audacious innovation which admitted the people of Ireland to a participation of the constitution, is to be ex-

pected by every man who reflects for a moment on the rapacity of that political ambition which never can be satiated ; which sees the destruction of its power in the communication of the privileges it enjoys, and which is perpetually insulting the victims of its oppression by their clamorous panegyrics on their free constitution. The protestants of this day loudly clamoured against the tolerant spirit of their king ; and as the English were the enemies of James, because he contemplated the establishment of unlimited monarchy, the Irish protestants were his enemies, because he resolved on the destruction of their monopoly.

The Earl of Tyrconnel had nearly accomplished the object of his sovereign in Ireland, when the news arrived, that the Prince of Orange had determined to invade England, and drive the English monarch from his throne. The rumour flew through Ireland, and all classes of the people were thrown into confusion. The protestants, who were no longer the governors of Ireland, panted for a return of their monopoly, and the catholics trembled for the safety of that king from whom they had experienced such protection. The Irish nation were immediately in arms to defend their sovereign ; and from the zeal and determination which the Irish, in 1688, manifested in favour of James's cause, may the kings of England learn how easy it is to command their fidelity and allegiance. Mr Leland says, an armed rabble arose at the call of the Irish priests ; but the same historian is obliged to confess, that this same armed rabble had nearly

disputed with success the rights of sovereignty with William. It is acknowledged, that if conducted with the spirit and the energy of such a commander as the English army enjoyed, the result of the struggle would have been the victory of Irish valour. Various expedients were adopted to rouse the apprehensions of the protestants of Ireland. Anonymous letters were industriously circulated, announcing a general massacre; and the deception so far succeeded, as to work upon the fears of the protestant inhabitants of Derry to such a degree, that they shut its gates against the king's troops, and determined to wait the arrival of the English rebels, to whom they immediately sent their ambassadors. Enniskillen followed the example of Derry, and parties arose in all the northern counties, declaring their determination to co-operate with the English in defence of the constitution and the protestant religion. The city of Derry and the town of Enniskillen sent forward their commissioners to Lord Clarendon, in whom they reposed their confidence, praying him to lay their grievances and present situation before King William. The latter received their ambassadors with the warmest promises of his protection, and assured them that he would take care of the Irish protestant." In the mean time, Tyrconnel was encouraged by a message from James, who had fled to France, that he would shortly assert his rights in person, and that he would make Ireland the theatre of the struggle. Lord Inchiquin headed the protestants of Munster, and Lord Kingston those of Connaught. Animated by the

hope of aid from England, the north eastern towns of Ireland proclaimed William and Mary. An energetic movement of the Irish government soon dissipated this little spirit of resistance. The rebels were driven from town to town, and the city of Derry alone was able or willing to defy the menaces of the viceroy. In the meantime, James arrived from France to contend for his crown and dominions. It appears, that either the pride or the ambition of James completely damped the ardour of the French minister in the cause of the Irish nation. Louvois, who was at this time the minister of Lewis XIV., proffered ample supplies of men, money and arms, to James; but connected his offers of aid with a request that the expedition for Ireland should be commanded by his son, that he might have the honour, as he observed, of preserving one crown for his majesty. This James, in an unhappy moment, refused. The friendship of Louvois changed to an implacable hostility, which he gratified, to the defeating of the best interests of Lewis, and the fatal effects of which James experienced in an ample degree in some time after. The Earl of Tryconnel could not be intimidated by the threats nor seduced by the promises of William, to abandon his master; he preserved the sovereignty of James entire and undisturbed, except in one corner of the kingdom; and an unfortunate policy alone contributed to make this the most fatal resistance to the arms of James. James sailed from France with fourteen ships of war, six frigates, and three fire ships.

Twelve hundred of his own native subjects, and one hundred French officers, formed his army. He arrived at Kinsale on the 12th of March. Tyrconnel immediately went to Cork, where he was created a duke.

The people made extraordinary demonstrations of joy in all parts, having never seen a king in the kingdom since Richard II. The Duke of Berwick, in his memoirs, says that addresses poured from all parts;—that the king received equal attention from all classes, protestant and catholic. He issued his proclamation for the meeting of parliament in Dublin on the 7th May, 1689. He then sent forward detachments of his army to reduce the rebels of the north, and particularly the city of Derry, which was then the great depot of rebellion. The besieged prepared for a vigorous defence. Walker, a protestant clergyman, was chosen governor. This divine distinguished himself by the intrepidity of his spirit, and the judiciousness of his arrangements. He left no expedient untried to animate his fellow soldiers in the defence of the last retreat of the friends of William. He appealed to their religious feelings, and boldly called upon them to defend their free constitution against the threats of despotism, and the protestant religion against the abominable superstitions of catholicity. In Berwick's memoirs, we read that eighteen clergymen of the established church shared the dangers of the siege, and harangued their flocks. Every effort which human courage, or the military knowledge of that day could suggest, was adopted to force the

gallant men under the command of Walker to surrender ; every privation was borne by the besieged with a fortitude which challenges our credulity, and the most desperate expedients of the Irish commanders were defeated by a heroism which is not surpassed in ancient or modern days.

There was one threat held out to intimidate the besieged, disgraceful to the general who conceived it. It was as barbarous as it was foolish, and recoiled on the hand who had the cruelty to put it in execution. Marshal de Rosen, who commanded the besieging army, threatened to drive all the protestants who inhabited the surrounding country under the walls of Derry, naked and defenceless, unless its defenders immediately surrendered. The garrison remained unmoved by the barbarity of this cowardly menace. The threat of de Rosen was enforced ; but, by the express order of James, the unhappy victims of this infamous idea were rescued from the most distressing situation. Soon after, this brave garrison was relieved by the presence of an English convoy, who succeeded in entering the city, and supplying the almost exhausted inhabitants with every necessary they required. De Rosen seeing the garrison relieved, immediately returned to Dublin, leaving a strong force in Charlemont. Every reader must admire the bold intrepidity with which Dr Walker and his brave companions defended the city against the great force which James was able to bring against them. Mr Leland and other colonial writers are loud in the praises of this ecclesiastical hero, who thus preserved the cause

and the religion of the protestants in Ireland. We join most willingly in the general acclamation ; but we cannot here refrain from calling to the reader's recollection how different an opinion Mr Leland entertains of those illustrious catholic clergymen, who, under circumstances somewhat similar to those of Dr Walker, sacrificed their lives in defence of their religion and their liberties. With Mr Leland, such clergymen, so acting, merited the scaffold. It is in such instances Mr Leland's sectarian prejudices are most unjust and ungenerous.

When Dr Walker and his eighteen clerical companions in arms animated the protestant inhabitants of Derry to arms, they acted under the conviction that they were defending the cause of liberty as well as religion. Dr Walker could not distinguish the little circle in which the Irish protestants moved, from the great circle of Ireland, in which the catholic people were the majority. Dr Walker conceived that protestant liberty consisted in catholic dishonour and degradation, and that the ascendancy of his religion in the state was essential to the safety of his political freedom. He acted under this conception, however erroneous, and he acted with a spirit and a heroism worthy of a more generous cause. Every enlightened reader must applaud the man, though he may at the same moment lament that so much valuable blood was profusely shed in support of a monopoly which, in the following years, withered the rich and fertile fields of our country.

The Irish army being obliged to abandon the

siege of Derry, James returned to Dublin, in 1689, where he assembled the parliament; he also published his declaration in favour of liberty of conscience, promising to the protestant as well as the catholic, an equal and impartial share of the royal protection. It appears that no sentiment at this period could be more ungrateful to protestant ears than the sentiment of universal toleration. There was no political liberty, in the opinion of that age, which did not create a torturing ascendancy; and those principles which would conciliate the hearts and affections of all enlightened protestants of the present day, were the most efficient means of generating distrust and hostility in the bosoms of their ancestors. James's declaration, therefore, in favour of toleration, was the signal which united protestant England against his pretensions to recover his throne. The Irish parliament now proceeded to the adoption of a measure which threatened to overturn the English interest entirely; namely, the repeal of the act of settlement.* Such a proceeding,

* We believe it may with justice be asserted, that there cannot be found in the annals of political depravity a more abandoned act of legislation than the act of settlement to which Charles II. gave his consent, and which went not only to plunder the most constant and incorruptible friends to his restoration, but enrich and aggrandize their most inveterate enemies.

That Ireland should have seized the first opportunity to assert her rights, to close the yet bleeding wounds of her children, is the first impulse of our nature; and if not embraced when fortune favoured her, would be unaccountable for by any rule whereby human conduct is generally directed. Mr Leland, and all other colonial writers who have preceded him, always take a part for the whole of the Irish nation; they talk of the few, and for-

however ruinous it must be to a large portion of innocent and unoffending persons, who then held

get the many; they cling to their darling ascendancy, and plunge into oblivion the great mass of catholic population by which they were surrounded. Such writers misled and deceived; the system of policy which they recommend an English government in Ireland to adopt, is narrowed to the wretched foundation which they have laid, as if the materials which might be suited to the building of a cabin, could by any possibility be ever applied to the building of a castle. The perfection of Irish government, in the opinion of such writers, is the swollen and bloated corpulency of ascendancy, and an impoverished and worn-down people. If the doors are well barred, and the prisoners well bolted, if the jail be secure, this is the summit of good government, and the great secret by which Irish affairs can best be administered. The act of settlement robbed the Irish people, to enrich (comparatively speaking) a handful of miserable adventurers from England. Ireland, when her arms were unbound, in 1687, claimed her property, and expelled the invaders of her rights, no matter what religion these invaders professed. This was as it ought to be; but time, which is the grand disposer and settler of all human affairs, has given a stability and duration to this act, which obliterates all the ideas of injustice that justly exasperated the Irish catholic of 1687. Lord Clare, in the year 1789, thus spoke of the act of settlement; and when the reader considers the fatal politics of this very remarkable Irish senator, he will perhaps more highly estimate the opinions which he has delivered on Irish affairs. The constant reviler of his country, he employed his great talents to effect its complete subjugation to England; he laughed at the policy which so long contributed to ennoble and enrich Ireland, and at last succeeded in accomplishing her humiliation, and his own ruin. When his country was prostrate at the feet of the English minister, he found, when it was too late, that he lost the firm footing on which all his greatness stood. The first man in Ireland made but a sorry figure in the Imperial senate, where he was doomed to be reproached by the noble advocates of English liberty, with being the willing instrument of his country's degradation. The re-

their properties under the act of settlement, it must be confessed to be a natural and obvious act

buke preyed on his ambitious spirit, and the tomb soon concealed him from the pity or the detestation of the empire. This unfortunate nobleman thus spoke of the act of settlement in 1789.

“ Give me leave to say, Sir, when we speak of the people of Ireland, it is a melancholy truth that we do not speak of the great body of the people. This is a subject on which it is extremely painful to me to speak in this assembly; but when I see the Right Hon. Member (Mr Grattan) driving the gentlemen of Ireland to the verge of a precipice, it is necessary to speak out. Sir, The ancient nobility and gentry of this kingdom have been hardly treated. That act by which most of us hold our estates, was an act of violence, an act palpably subverting the first principles of the common law of England and Ireland. I speak of the act of settlement passed in this country immediately after the restoration, which vests the estate of every man, who had been dispossessed during the rebellion of 1641, absolutely in the Crown, and puts the old proprietors to the necessity of proving that they had not been guilty of high treason, in order to avoid the penalties of confiscation, which, by the sacred and fundamental principles of the common law, can be incurred only upon conviction and attainder. And, that gentlemen may know the extent to which this summary confiscation is gone, I will tell them that every acre of land in the country that pays quit-rent to the Crown, is held by title under the act of settlement; so that I trust the gentlemen on the opposite benches will deem it a subject worthy of their consideration, how far it may be prudent to pursue the successive claims of dignified and unequivocal independence made for Ireland by the Right Hon. Gentleman, (Mr Grattan.)”

Here stands the opinion of an Irish protestant of the highest rank and talent in the legislature, of the merits of the act of settlement, and that opinion delivered one hundred and twenty years after this infamous act was passed. If such were his feelings and sentiments with regard to its merits, what must have been the feelings of those whose families were beggared by its enactment, and who in 1687 enjoyed the opportunity of repealing it? Yet

of retribution to the thousands who had been beggared by that act, and who were now shedding

the colonial writers of Irish history declaim, in furious and abusive language, against the injustice of restoring property to its rightful owner. The protestant of the present day is too enlightened and too liberal to refuse his acknowledgment of the cruelty of the act of settlement, and the right which the Irish nation had to resume their plundered property. The catholic reads the sufferings of his ancestors with an honest and generous sympathy, but he sees that whatever property he himself now enjoys, is depending on the duration of this very act which the Irish parliament of 1687 repealed. One hundred years have made the protestant and catholic title the same. Both are equally interested in each other's security. The liberal and enlightened policy of the last thirty years has thrown into oblivion the oppression of fanaticism, and the suspicions of the protestant no longer interrupt that confidence which all sects should repose in each other. Mr Grattan, in his profound and statesman-like speech of 1792, for ever silenced the objections grounded on the supposed event of the Irish catholic repealing the act of settlement. "Whatever, therefore, (says our great countryman,) may be the crime of the catholic to ground a code of disability, there is one offence of which he is not, and of which he cannot now be guilty—disaffection; because the objects and the resources of disaffection, and with them the principle itself, must have departed. His offence is therefore reduced to two heads—his nativity, as connected with claims of property, and his religion, as distinct from views of politics. As to the first, he strongly and immediately meets the charge; he denies the possibility of their existence. He denies that he could benefit or you lose by the repeal of the act of settlement; he relies upon it that your title is by time, as well as by act of parliament; he insists that a greater number of Roman catholics *take* under the act of settlement, than could prefer claims on the repeal of it; that such claims, if any, are common to you, as your title under the act of settlement is common to him; and he offers you any assurance, not only for your titles, which he reveres, but for your fears, which he respects; and he alleges that the whole catholic body are rea-

their blood in the cause of James and the crown of England. That such men should be attended to, when they remonstrated against the injustice under which they and their families had suffered for twenty years, is not surprising, when we consider that the relations and the friends of these very men who then possessed large and extensive properties under the act of settlement, were in arms against their lawful king, and struggling to drive him from his throne. With regard to Ireland, it was at this period a proceeding of great public justice to repeal the act of settlement to which the perfidious Charles assented ; but with regard to England, it might have been more judicious not to adopt a measure which might have created such inveterate hostility. James was against the repeal ; but the voice of the nation was irresistible, and the act of settlement was overturned, with few dissenting voices. They then proceeded to attain all absentees who would not return to their country and join the royal standard. But let us now pass on to the more grateful office of recording those acts, in which this catholic and protestant parliament (for it was a mixed

dy and desirous to take the same oath to secure the act of settlement, which you have thought sufficient to secure the succession to the Crown. He desires you to name your own conditions and terms of abjuration, touching any imputed claim on this subject. Thus the code of disabilities, as far as they are maintained on this ground, is reduced to an act of power, which disables three millions of people for the unallowable dissent of a few, grounded on the apprehension of claims imputed to that few, which they cannot trace, which none can make, and which all abjure."

assembly) have manifested a true Irish independent feeling ;—where we see our countrymen lifted up into the proud character of Irish legislators, making laws by which the independence of their country is asserted, and their past humility to England blotted from the records of an Irish parliament.

The laws which were enacted by this distinguished assembly of Irishmen, whom Mr Leland and other Irish calumniators are pleased to denominate a pretended parliament, were the true and genuine offspring of a sincere patriotism, not regulating its feelings by the measure of English toleration, but boldly and unequivocally asserting the rights and privileges of a free people. They first declared that the parliament of England cannot bind Ireland, and that the ultimate appeal should for the future be placed in the Irish house of lords. They passed an act in favour of liberty of conscience, and for repealing all acts, or clauses in any act of parliament, which are inconsistent with the same. They passed an act for the encouragement of strangers of all sects and denominations to inhabit and plant in the kingdom of Ireland. They also passed an act for the advance and improvement of trade, and for the encouragement and increase of shipping and navigation. These were the great leading and distinguished works of the Irish parliament which met in the year 1689. Let this parliament, then, be judged by its acts ; let it be compared with that assembly which, under the direction of Mr Grattan's eloquence, established a free constitution for

the protestants of Ireland in 1782. The reader will see the great superiority of the acts of parliament of 1689, in the single consideration that Mr Grattan's parliament legislated for a part—the parliament of 1689 legislated for the whole. Mr Grattan, no doubt, established a free trade, and thus gave liberty to the industry of Ireland, without distinction of religion; but he could not, even in his independent parliament, communicate to the catholics of Ireland the free constitution he procured for the protestants. He could not establish the great comprehensive principle of liberty of conscience, nor overturn that religious monopoly, under whose withering influence the free trade and the free constitution of Mr Grattan little more than illuminated the prison of the catholic. In that Irish parliament which passed the acts we have recited, we see no effort to plunder the protestant by law, to deprive him of education, to set the protestant child against his father, to encourage perjury, to demoralize society, and to barbarize the country: those sacred labours were reserved for the loyal parliaments which were to follow. Let no man, therefore, insult the Irish understanding by his idle declamation against the bigotry of the Irish parliament of 1689. They broke the chains with which the intolerance of the reformers bound down the energies of our country; and set an example of public spirit, which was followed at an humble distance by the powerful genius of Grattan. Far be it from our intention to disparage the acts of this great and illustrious Irish senator. We hope we look back upon his labours

with the reverence due to the superiority of his genius, and the inflexibility of his integrity. But Mr Grattan could do no more with the materials he had to work with; he looked forward with generous enthusiasm to that hour when he could take, under the protecting shelter of his free constitution, the catholic as well as the protestant. He thought he had raised a flame of patriotism in the protestant bosom, which might, in no very remote day, communicate its light to the most distant corner of his country. He raised a vast superstructure on a small foundation; and in his endeavours to enlarge the base, the insidious artifices of monopoly overthrew the dazzling edifice, and buried his labours in the ruins.

This Irish parliament of 1689 was composed of protestants and catholics. It may not be uninteresting to the descendants of those men who took a part in the assertion of national freedom, to read over the names of their ancestors;* they will there find a full reply to the impudent accusation, that the liberal and enlightened catholic was the advocate of passive obedience. They will observe in the proceedings of this calumniated assembly, the true spirit of independence, taking such broad and firm ground as would have rendered it invincible under a monarch of courage or of talent. Mr Leland has industriously laboured to perpetuate the slanders of Archbishop King, and sets down such palpable absurdities as must excite the indignation of every

* See Appendix.

reader. It will not be supposed that at the very moment the Irish protestant was sitting on the same benches with his catholic countryman, making and administering the laws of his country, asserting the liberties and the rights of conscience, the catholic counsellors of King James should have been recommending his Majesty to order a public plundering of the bakers throughout the metropolis, in order that the protestants might be starved; yet Mr Leland feels it his duty, as an honest historian, to re-echo the vicious fabrication of King. "Yet certain it is," says Mr Leland, "that during that melancholy interval in which the popish laity were predominant, protestants felt all the distresses arising from a state of war and disorder, aggravated by the wanton insolence of their adversaries. If they attempted to purchase corn, or other provisions, with the brass coin, these were instantly seized for the king's use, and the proprietors imprisoned as men who intended to supply the enemy. 'We were at a loss,' saith Archbishop King, 'what the meaning of taking away corn from protestant farmers, housekeepers and bakers, should be, when there was no scarcity in the kingdom; but Sir Robert Parker, and some others, blabbed it out in the coffee-house, that they designed to starve one half of the protestants and hang the other, and that it would never be well till this was done. We were sensible that they were in earnest by the event; for no protestant could get a bit of bread, and hardly a drop of drink, in the whole city of Dublin. Twenty or thirty soldiers stood constantly about every bake-

house, and would not suffer a protestant to come in." Mr Leland is not content with taking this infamous and audacious falsehood from King; he consents to indorse it with his own opinion of its truth, and asserts its credibility without producing a single witness to confirm it. His observation is as follows: "Such representations are sometimes derided as the fictions of an inflamed fancy. But however improbable those instances of senseless tyranny may appear, they are confirmed by undoubted traditions received from the sufferers, and transmitted with every circumstance of credulity." The Irish catholic should no longer wonder, that the protestant youth who has been obliged to read the pages of Mr Leland, should have gone into the world with the prejudices of his preceptor. This single fact, to which neither the religion nor the patriotism of Mr Leland could prompt him to refuse his assent, is sufficient to corrupt the heart and bias the understanding of him who is taught to consider Mr Leland as an authority on whom he can rely—who swallows his calumnies as facts, and his destructive principles as the future guide of his political conduct. The march of education in this country has in a great measure dissipated the vicious labours of the bribed historian. The Irish mind investigates, reflects, and compares. The understanding is no longer outraged by the artifices of fraud, or the credulity of prejudice; the whole scene is carefully examined, and justice is at length performing her duty to an abused nation.

The Irish parliament had now (1689) proceeded a good way in laying the ground-work of Ireland's future independence and happiness, when the Duke of Schomberg, at the head of ten thousand men, invaded their country. He arrived at Carrickfergus on the 13th of August 1689, which, after some resistance, was obliged to yield to the superior power of the invader. The Duke of Berwick collected all the troops he could procure, and proceeded towards Newry to interrupt the progress of Schomberg. The Duke was soon followed by the Earl of Tyrconnel with twenty thousand men: Schomberg retreated, and fortifying himself in his camp, waited the advance of the Irish army. The generals of the latter preferred relying on the possible losses which the English might sustain in an unwholesome position, to any experiment by force to expel them their country. Half the English troops fell victims to disease; and Schomberg thus suffered the winter months to pass in an inglorious inactivity. His army, however, was soon reinforced in the spring of the following year. Seven thousand Danes joined the English, with an abundant supply of military stores for the use of Schomberg's troops. Schomberg immediately opened the campaign; and the fort of Charlemont, in the north of Ireland, was forced to surrender, after a bravely contested siege, under the command of Teague O'Regan. The slowness of Schomberg's progress in Ireland roused the impatience of William and the English nation, and he determined to put an end to the campaign in his own person. The English sovereign landed

at Carrickfergus, at the head of a large force, accompanied by the young Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Manchester. Harris, in his life of William, says, "the English army, when mustered at Loughbrickland, were at the lowest estimate thirty-six thousand strong, English, French, Dutch, Danes, and Brandenburgers, all well appointed in every respect." William immediately proceeded to arrange the operations of the campaign; for, says this active soldier, "I have not come to Ireland to let grass grow under my feet." James left Dublin the 16th of June, at the head of six thousand men, and proceeded to join his army, then encamped at Castle-town Bellew, near Dundalk. Never was a monarch supported in a contest for empire with more enthusiasm than James was by the Irish; and never was a victory more certain to Ireland, if it had pleased Providence that the director of her resources and her spirit had possessed the talents and the vigour necessary in so great a struggle.

While William halted at Newry three or four days, waiting for his artillery, and deliberating whether he should march straight to Dundalk, or take the road by Armagh, one of his reconnoitring parties was observed every night to insult a guard of cavalry posted at the pass of Half-way bridge, between Dundalk and Newry. A detachment of horse and foot was placed in ambuscade, under Colonel Dempsey and Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzgerald, to cut it off, and succeeded. The party, consisting of two hundred foot, and sixty dragoons,

fell into ambuscade at day-break, and was almost entirely cut off or taken, with very little loss on the side of the Irish. As the army of William advanced, that of James retreated, to Ardee on the 23d of June, to Dumlave the 27th, and on the 28th passed the Boyne and encamped opposite the bridge, with the right towards Drogheda, and the left extending up the river. This appeared to James and his generals the best position in the country. He therefore resolved to continue there and wait his enemy's approach, though his army did not amount to more than twenty thousand, and that of William was nearer to forty thousand. It would have swelled the pages of this compendium to have entered minutely into the details of all the battles which we have recorded ; nor shall we now attempt to describe the fluctuating fortune of this great day, the 1st of July 1690, which decided the power of James and the liberties of Irishmen ; which once more gave up Ireland to a government of intolerance and the avarice of England ; which sacrificed the great majority to the monopoly of the few, and made that sect of our fellow christians, (who would in the present day communicate the blessings they enjoy) the task-masters rather than the fellow-subjects of their catholic countrymen.

We shall not fight the battle of the Boyne in this compendium ; but we will repeat the saying which is reported to have fallen from the Irish army when their monarch (though abandoning the field of battle and flying his country), complained of their inferiority to his English subjects. “ Exchange com-

manders," said the Irish, "and we will fight the battle over again;"—a proud testimony to the valour and the conduct of William, and an ample commentary on that of his unfortunate competitor. The miserable results of this day's struggle seemed to have totally unmanned the vanquished James. He fled precipitately to Dublin, under the protection of his most illustrious general, Sarsfield, and from thence to Cork, where he embarked for France, leaving his faithful and brave people to struggle, as they might, with their common enemy. Such a king deserved the fate he experienced; he lost his empire, and he deserved to lose it. When this dastardly monarch arrived in Dublin, he assembled the magistracy, and declared his inability to defend them. Flight seemed to be his only object; and that consideration which should be his first, namely, the safety of his people, who stood by him in all his adversity, seemed to be the last sentiment of his coward heart. The Irish army, who now repaired to Limerick, still had leaders in whom they could confide. Sarsfield, the Dukes of Berwick and Tyrconnel, with the French general M. de Lausen, still remained to contend with William for the rights and privileges of Irishmen.

William, immediately on his arrival in Dublin, divided his army and pursued the Irish. Wexford declared for him. Clonmel was abandoned, and Waterford soon followed. Douglas, one of William's generals, advanced to Athlone with ten regiments of foot and five of horse; he laid waste the country through which he passed. After many

desperate efforts to take Athlone, which was bravely defended by an Irish officer of the name of Grace, this sanguinary Englishman was compelled to retire in disgrace. He joined the army of William in August, who was advancing to Limerick, the great seat of the Irish force.

According to the Duke of Berwick's memoirs, the city of Limerick had no fortification but a wall without ramparts, and some miserable little towers without ditches. A sort of covered way was made all round, and a kind of horn-work palisaded before the great gate, but the town was not attacked on that side. Twenty thousand Irish infantry, of whom, however, not more than half were armed, formed the garrison, while three thousand five hundred Irish cavalry, stationed at five miles distance, on the Connaught side of the Shannon, maintained a free communication with the town. The French troops retired to Galway on the appearance of the English. The skill and valour exhibited by Sarsfield and the Duke of Berwick, in the defence of this celebrated city, was worthy of all their former fame. Their example animated every bosom; even women forgot their sex, and flew to arms in defence of the liberties of their children. A successful breach being made in the walls by the besieging army, served but to increase the ardour of the besieged; they filled up the breach with their bodies, and thus exposed an impregnable rampart to the enemy. With what sensations must William, who had been ever opposed to oppression and intolerance, have viewed the glorious struggles which this brave

Irish army were making for the civil and religious freedom of their country? The English monarch was forced to raise the siege, and bow his head to the superior prowess and spirit of his enemy. It was inconsistent in the character of William to attribute his failure to any other cause than the invincible courage of his opponents; he should not have told the English parliament that the heavy rains alone caused him to raise the siege of Limerick. The Duke of Berwick, an eye-witness, asserts, that not a drop of rain fell for above a month before, nor for three weeks after. It is not very wonderful that Limerick, this sacred theatre of Irish valour, on which the best blood of her children was shed, should now be viewed by Ireland with feelings of solemn veneration; nor should it be matter of surprise, that the Irishman who is at this day obliged to recapitulate the wrongs of his country, should speak in the bold terms of remonstrance, when standing on the ground where his ancestors fought for that liberty he is only petitioning for. They are bad statesmen who would not highly estimate that honest pride that can trace its origin to so glorious a source; and the spirit of Irishmen will never be vanquished, while they have eyes to contemplate the graves of those brave and honourable dead, who so signally struggled for their freedom. Soon after this unsuccessful effort on the part of William against the brave defenders of Limerick, he retired to Waterford, and from thence embarked for England.

The Irish war had now cost him much anxie-

ty; his finest troops were wasted, and his best generals opposed with unprecedented success. Schomberg found a rival in Sarsfield; and William felt that a nation fighting for its liberty, will sell that liberty at a dear rate to the conqueror. He therefore instructed his generals to strike to the terms of the Irish, whom he found he could not subdue, and to put, (by the most honourable, and of course the most satisfactory means,) a termination to a conflict in which he had already exhausted so much blood and treasure. William invested General Ginkle and Count Solmes with the command of his army, now quartered at Clonmel. In the mean time, Cork and Kinsale surrendered to the rapid and decisive movements of the Earl of Marlborough. This achievement was accomplished by the English general in the space of twenty-three days, and was, in England, a source of great national pride and exultation. Athlone also fell into the hands of the English army, who displayed in the attack the most undaunted heroism. St Ruth, who commanded the town, was a victim to his consciousness of security against any effort of the enemy. His situation was most formidable, and the obstacles to the English general apparently invincible. The capture of this place was one of the most brilliant achievements by William's army during the entire campaign. That the Irish had taught their enemies to respect and to dread the effects of their courage and the skill of their generals, is tolerably clear from a letter then written by the secretary of the lords justices, Lord Sydney

and Thomas Coningsby, to Gingle, the English general: "I did very much hope, that after the taking of Athlone, some favourable declaration might have been sent forth to break the Irish army, and save the expence of a field battle; but I see our civil officers regard more adding fifty pounds a-year to the English interest in this kingdom, than saving England the expence of fifty thousand. I promise myself it is for the king's, the allies', and England's interest, to remit most or all of the forfeitures, so that we could immediately bring the kingdom under their majesties' obedience." Gingle, who was a much better judge of his own situation, and a much better estimator of the strength and talents of the enemy with whom he had to contend, than the civil officers of the Irish government, who were then perhaps concealing themselves in their lurking places in Dublin, trembling even at the reports of the battles which the Irish were fighting, was so convinced of the immediate necessity of a proclamation of honourable terms to the Irish, that he published one on the 8th day of July 1691, which was in a few days confirmed by the deliberate wisdom of the Irish government. The proclamation held out seducing temptations to the Irish to put an end to the war. It offered all commanders full possession of their estates; it offered liberal rewards to those who had no landed property; and guaranteed to all a free exercise of their religion. Here was the best evidence of Irish valour; the honourable homage to the skill and spirit of their generals. "As we find," said Gingle,

“that we cannot conquer the Irish by our arms, let us seduce them by their rights.” It was a noble and generous determination; but the policy, however profound, did not succeed, and the Irish army under St Ruth and Sarsfield remained firm and undivided.

Ginckle immediately concentrated his force, and marched from Athlone. On the 12th of July the English army advanced to the attack at Aughrim. One unfortunate blow decided the celebrated battle of Aughrim. A cannon ball struck St Ruth early in the action, and thus deranged those plans which that able man had so judiciously laid, and which promised to insure victory to his army. The Irish suffered so considerably, that we now find them taking their last refuge in Limerick. Though the battle of Aughrim was fatal to the Irish, yet the terms obtained soon after by Galway, are another proof of the deep impression which their valour made on the mind of the English general. He saw and admitted the folly of prolonging a contest which must cost his monarch so much blood. He therefore offered such terms to Galway, as, under all existing circumstances, must be admitted by every candid reader, to be a full recognition of the rights for which the Irish were contending. They were as follow—we shall give them as reported by Mr Leland.

“William was now anxious to be relieved from the oppressive burden of his Irish struggle; to prevent another year of bloodshed in a country already wasted by distress; to extricate the kingdom at

once, from difficulties grievous and dangerous. He resolved to grant such conditions to Galway, as might convince the whole Irish people, of the infatuation of their perseverance in a desperate cause, and dispose them to an immediate submission. The garrison was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and to be conveyed to Limerick; with liberty to those who desired it, to continue in the town, or to repair to their respective habitations. A free pardon was granted to the governor, magistracy, freemen and inhabitants, with full possession of their estates and liberties, under the act of settlement and explanation. The Romish clergy and laity were allowed the private exercise of their religion, their lawyers to practise, and their estated gentlemen to bear arms. Nor were those favourable terms without their effect. Several considerable parties daily revolted from the Irish, and were either entertained in the army, on taking the oaths to the king and queen, or dismissed peaceably to their habitations."

To those who will assert that Ireland was conquered, after reading the concessions which were here made to her valour, do not stop to reflect on the cause which first prompted her to take up arms. It was not the cause of James, or Louis, or the Pope. It was their rights for which Irishmen struggled, and at length they successfully fought their way to their re-establishment. Sheath your sword (says the English general), and you shall have the price of all the blood that has been shed. Galway accepted his terms, and rescued her rights. Galway

reposed in that honour, which was basely violated, and which exhibits the power, that was guilty of the violation, more as a robber than a conqueror.

The Irish thus disputed every inch of their country, with the spirit of men deserving the rights which her opponents agreed to concede : and when we consider the conduct of that monarch, for whose restoration Ireland was willing to shed her best blood, we should suppose, that the general sentiment would rather be in favour of acknowledging the sovereignty of William, on the honourable conditions which we have seen granted to Galway. Limerick now remained the last, and most formidable depot of Irish intrepidity. Sarsfield, who determined to maintain the rights of his country while he had life, was the intrepid commander of this city. The English general now had the experience of his master's defeat when he attempted the capture of Limerick. He then witnessed the spirit of the Irish soldier and the skill of his commander. It was not surprising, therefore, that General Ginkle, an officer of the highest merit, should have had the good sense to pause and reflect on the wildness of that experiment which would demand from such an enemy an unconditional surrender of their city. He had granted to a place of less consideration the rights of freemen. Limerick had the example of Galway to animate her. We therefore find that Ginkle proposed similar terms to the people of Limerick, by which wise policy he put an end to a war that promised a long duration, when fed by the resources of foreign

powers, and supported by the unconquerable valour of the Irish. Mr Macpherson, in his History of England, says, that “the particulars of the second siege of Limerick are neither important nor distinctly known. Six weeks were spent before the place without any decisive effect,—the garrison was well supplied with provisions,—they were provided with all means of defence,—the season had now far advanced,—the rains had set in,—the winter itself was near,—Ginckle had received orders to finish the war upon any terms. The English general offered conditions which the Irish, had they even been victors, could scarcely refuse with prudence. These terms were the liberties for which they were fighting—the privileges which they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II.—and of which intolerance would have stripped them.” Dr Curry thus mentions the surrender of Limerick to the English forces: “On the 3d October, 1691, was surrendered to General Ginckle, and the lords justices of Ireland, upon the articles of capitulation here following, freely and solemnly entered into, the city of Limerick, together with all other garrisons then held by the catholics of that kingdom, for King James. These articles were ratified and exemplified by their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, under the great seal of England, and in the year 1692, ratified by an act of the Irish parliament.” As many of the most frontless enemies of the liberty of the catholic have had the hardihood to assert, that the political, civil, and religious privileges of the Irish catholic were not

guaranteed and secured by the articles of Limerick, we shall, even in a compendium of Irish history, set forth at length, and without mutilation, those two articles by which the rights of Ireland were so unequivocally conditioned for. These articles were flagrantly violated by the English and the Irish parliament. A cowardly war of sophistry was waged by the devouring spirit of confiscation against the naked and unarmed people of Ireland. It is a great lesson of instruction to the Irish nation, and it is hoped will sufficiently demonstrate the necessity of everlastingly keeping up that firm imposing countenance, which says to a rival nation, "We are always ready to resent oppression. Act with honour and with justice, and we will make common cause with you against the world; but attempt to plunder us of our property, deprive us of our rights, or to throw us back into a state of barbarism, and we will no longer acknowledge our allegiance. The bond which cemented us is dissolved, and in proportion to the strength of the obligation by which you were bound to act fairly and correctly, in the same proportion do we feel indignant that you should be the active instrument of our degradation." This is the language of truth, and the only language which is ever heard by a government of intolerance. It touches the sensitive chord of selfishness, and makes the oppressor look in upon the prudence or the common sense of his oppression. The articles of Limerick were violated because the Irish nation was disarmed and divided, their spirit was broken, and the

English nation played the tyrant, because she knew she could trample on her victim with impunity. The great events of a century, however, have raised up Ireland from her humbled station; and England now dare no longer think it wisdom to make experiments on the patience and the feelings of the Irish people. The latter look back with indignation on the base record of dishonour and injustice which the violated articles of Limerick exhibit; they call to their recollection the glorious efforts of their ancestors; and, in the stern accents of an abused and insulted creditor, demand from the English nation the faithful payment of that debt which their favourite monarch pledged his honour to discharge. The articles which secured the rights of Ireland, and for the obtaining of which, Sarsfield and the brave men who fought by his side agreed to sheath their swords, were as follows:

“ 1st, The Roman catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges, in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II.; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman catholics such farther security in this particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon account of their said religion.

“ 2d, All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish; all officers and soldiers now in arms under any commission of King James, or those autho-

rised by him to grant the same, in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers, in their majestie's quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience, and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess and enjoy all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges and immunities, which they and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of Charles II. or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of Charles II. and shall be put in possession by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein, and all such estates shall be freed of crown debts, quit rents, and other public charges incurred and become due since Michaelmas, 1688, to the day of the date hereof; and all persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands or the hands of any persons whatsoever in trust for them, or for the use of them or any of them; and all and every the said persons, of what profession, trade or calling soever they be, shall or may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades and

callings, as freely as they used and exercised, and enjoyed the same in the reign of King Charles II.; provided that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person, now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised; provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance made by an act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required."

The ninth article conditions, that the oath to be administered to such Roman catholics as submit to their majesties' government, shall be the oath of allegiance, and no other.

If any man is to be found, in the present day, armed with sufficient front to deny that the rights of Ireland were secured by the articles of Limerick, let the articles themselves be stated, and the assessor will not repeat the falsehood. He may say, with the mercenary enemies of Irish liberty, that King William had no power of performing the promise which he made, of keeping sacred his plighted faith; that he should obey the will of the English parliament, and that this parliament resolved to dishonour their monarch, by forcing him to violate his faith with the Irish nation. As this has been once urged, or something that amounts to it, so may it be urged again; but it is not in the power of the sophist to disprove the fact, that the Irish were a plundered and deceived nation; that the powers which could not conquer did betray, and the heart

which could not bend to force, was at length obliged to surrender to fraud.* Harris, in his life of

* That the faith which was solemnly pledged to Ireland by William, was as solemnly violated, and that the infamous violation was aggravated by the insolent sophistry of confiscators, who struggled to bend the plain and intelligible language of a clear and intelligible treaty, to the mean and mercenary purposes of national plunder, is known to every man who has read the history of England, however indifferent he may be to the fate and fortunes of Irishmen. Mr Burke, who is an authority before whom the enemies, as well as the friends of Ireland are accustomed to bow with equal veneration, has left to the people of the British empire, and to the world, his opinion of this miserable feature in the life of William, that monarch of immortal memory, in the opinion of every trading Irishman, speculating on the degradation of his country.

Among the many valuable legacies which that great and extraordinary man, Edmund Burke, has bequeathed to his countrymen, there is none perhaps so pregnant with solid and substantial advantage as his "Tracts on the Penal Laws," published after his decease. They are decisive against all the frothy declamation with which monopoly has ever insulted our understanding and spirit, and ably vindicate that proud tone of remonstrance by which every Irishman, who speaks on the subject of Irish rights, should be distinguished. Its solid and substantial excellence will excuse its length; its eloquence will delight, while its masterly reasoning will instruct and convince the reader. Speaking of the various plans of oppression and systems of torture practised by England against Ireland, he is carried to the articles of Limerick, which closed the Irish war of 1691.

"When," writes Mr Burke, "by every expedient of force and policy, by a war of some centuries, by extirpating a number of the old, and by bringing in a number of new people, full of those opinions, and intending to propagate them, they had fully compassed their object, they suddenly took another turn, commenced an opposite persecution, made heavy laws, carried on mighty wars, inflicted and suffered the worst evils, extirpated the mass of the old, brought in new inhabitants; and they con-

William, writes, that his majesty was so sensible of the necessity of collecting and uniting his whole

tinue at this day, an oppressive system, and may, for four hundred years to come, to eradicate opinions which, by the same violent means, they had been for four hundred years endeavouring by every means to establish. They compelled the people to submit, by the forfeiture of all their civil rights, to the pope's authority, in its most extravagant and unbounded sense, as a giver of kingdoms: and now they refuse even to tolerate them in the most moderate and chastised sentiments concerning it. *No country, I believe, since the world began, has suffered so much on account of religion, or has been so variously harassed both for popery and protestantism.*

"It will now be seen, that even if these laws could be supposed agreeable to those of nature in those particulars, on another, and almost as strong a principle, they are yet unjust; as being contrary to positive compact, and the public faith, most solemnly plighted.

"On the surrender of Limerick, and some other Irish garrisons, in the war of the revolution, the lords justices of Ireland, and the commander in chief of the king's forces, signed a capitulation with the Irish, which was afterwards ratified by the king himself, by *inspeximus* under the great seal of England. It contains some public articles relative to the whole body of the Roman catholics in that kingdom, and some with regard to the security of the greater part of the inhabitants of five counties. What the latter were, or in what manner they were observed, is at this day of much less public concern. The former are two, the first and ninth. The first is of this tenor: 'The Roman catholics of this kingdom (Ireland) shall enjoy such privileges, in the exercise of religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of Charles II.; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman catholics still further security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of religion.' The ninth article is to this effect. 'The oath to be administered to such Roman catholics as submit to their majesties' government, shall

force against the formidable power of France, that in order to put a speedy period to the Irish war, he

be the oath aforesaid, and no other, viz. the oath of allegiance made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of their then majesties, as required by the second of the articles of Limerick.' Compare this latter article with the penal laws, and judge whether they seem to be the public acts of the same power, and observe whether *other* oaths are tendered to them, and under what penalties. Compare the former with the same laws, from the beginning to the end, and judge whether the Roman catholics have been preserved agreeably to the sense of the article, or rather whether, on that account, there is a single right of nature, or benefit of society, which has not been either totally taken away or considerably impaired.

“ But it is said that the legislature was not bound by this article, as it had never been ratified in parliament. I do admit, that it never had that sanction ; and that the parliament was under no obligation to ratify those articles by any express act of theirs. But still I am at a loss how they came to be the less valid in the principles of our constitution, by being without that sanction. They certainly bound the king and his successors ; the words of the article do this, or they do nothing ; and so far as the crown had a share in passing these acts, the public faith was unquestionably broken. In Ireland, such a breach on the part of the crown was much more unpardonable in administration than it would have been here. They have, in Ireland, a way of preventing any bill even from approaching the royal presence in matters of far less importance than the honour and the faith of the crown, and the well-being of a great body of the people. For, besides that they might have opposed the first suggestion of it in the house of commons, it could not be framed into a bill, without the approbation of the council in Ireland. It could not be returned to them again, without the approbation of the king and council here. They might have met it again in its second passage through that house of parliament in which it was originally suggested, as well as in the other. If it had escaped them through all these mazes, it was again to come before the lord lieutenant, who might have sunk it by a refusal of the royal

had sent instructions to the lords justices to issue a proclamation, assuring the Irish of much more fa-

assent. The constitution of Ireland interposed all those checks to the passing of any constitutional act, however insignificant in its own nature. But did the administration in that reign avail themselves of any one of those opportunities? They never gave the act of the 11th of Queen Anne the least degree of opposition in any one stage of its progress. What is rather the fact, many of the queen's servants encouraged it, recommended it, were in reality the true authors of its passing in parliament, instead of recommending and using their utmost endeavour to establish a law directly opposite in its tendency, as they were bound to do by the express letter of the very first article of the treaty of Limerick. To say nothing of the ministry, who, in this instance, shamefully betrayed the faith of government, may it not be a matter of some degree of doubt, whether the parliament, who do not claim a right of dissolving the force of moral obligation, did not make themselves a party in this breach of contract, by presenting a bill to the crown in direct violation of those articles so solemnly and so recently executed, which, by the constitution, they had full authority to execute?

“It may be further objected, that when the Irish requested the ratification of parliament to those articles, they did, in effect, themselves, entertain a doubt concerning their validity, without such a ratification. To this I answer, that the collateral security was meant to bind the crown, and to hold it firm to its engagements. They did not therefore call it a perfecting of the security, but an additional security, which it could not have been, if the first had been void; for the parliament could not bind itself, more than the crown had bound itself. And if all had made but one security, neither of them could be called additional, with propriety or common sense. But let us suppose that they did apprehend there might have been something wanting in this security, without the sanction of parliament. They were, however, evidently mistaken; and this surplusage of theirs did not weaken the validity of the single contract, upon the known principle of law, *Non solent, quæ abundant, vitiare scripturas*; for nothing is more evident than that the crown was bound, and that no act

vourable conditions than they afterwards obtained by the articles of Limerick. The justices formed

can be made without the royal assent. But the constitution will warrant us in going a great deal further, and in affirming, that a treaty executed by the crown, and contradictory of no preceding law, is fully as binding on the whole body of the nation, as if it had twenty times received the sanction of parliament; because, the very same constitution, which has given to the house of parliament their definite authority, has also left in the crown the trust of making peace, as a consequence, and much the best consequence, of the prerogative of making war. If the peace was ill made, my Lords Galway, Conningsby and Porter, who signed, were responsible, because they were subject to the community. But its own contracts are not subject to it; it is a subject to them; and the compact of the king, acting constitutionally, was the compact of the nation.

“Observe what monstrous consequences would result from a contrary position. A foreign enemy has entered, or a strong domestic one has arisen in the nation. In such events, the circumstances may be, and often have been such, that a parliament cannot sit. *This was precisely the case in that rebellion in Ireland.* It will be admitted also, that their power may be so great, as to make it very prudent to treat with them, in order to save the effusion of blood, perhaps to save the nation. How could such a treaty be at all made, if your enemies or rebels were fully persuaded, that, in those times of confusion, there was no authority in the state, which could hold out to them an inviolate pledge for their future security, but that there lurked in the constitution, a dormant but irresistible power, who would not think itself bound by the ordinary subsisting and contracting authority, but might rescind its acts and obligations at pleasure? This would be a doctrine made to perpetuate and exasperate war; and on that principle, it directly impugns the law of nations, which is built upon this principle, that war should be softened as much as possible, and that it should cease as soon as possible, between contending parties and communities. The king has a power to pardon individuals. If the king holds out his faith to

those instructions into a proclamation, afterwards styled the secret proclamation, because, though

a robber to come in, on a promise of a pardon of life and estate, and in all respects of a full indemnity, shall the parliament say, that he must nevertheless be executed, that his estate must be forfeited, or that he shall be abridged of any of the privileges which he before held as a subject? Nobody will affirm it. In such a case, the breach of faith would not only be on the part of the king, who assented to such an act, but on the part of the parliament who made it. As the king represents the whole contracting capacity of the nation, so far as his prerogative, unlimited, (as I said before), by any precedent law can extend, he acts as the national procurator on all such occasions. What is true of a robber, is true of a rebel; and what is true of one robber or rebel, is as true, and is a much more important truth, of one hundred thousand.

“To urge this part of the argument further, is indeed, I fear, not necessary, for two reasons. First, that it seems tolerably evident in itself; and next, that there is but too much ground to apprehend, that the actual ratification of parliament would, in the then temper of parties, have proved but a very slight and trivial security. Of this, there is a very strong example in the history of those very articles. For though the parliament omitted, in the reign of King William, to ratify the first and most general of them; they did actually confirm the second and more limited, that which related to the security of the inhabitants of those five counties, which were in arms when the treaty was made.”

It has been so often urged by the enemies of the people of Ireland, that the privileges which they are now claiming, are more a question of expediency than of right, that we felt it our duty to put the reasons on which the rights of our country are grounded, in the strongest and most unanswerable manner that the great powers of Burke could exhibit them. That this task has been performed with his usual strength, will not be denied by any attentive reader. That the sophist who has the audacity to defend the outrageous violation of the articles of Limerick, should yield to the reasoning of Burke, will now be admitted by the most ardent supporters of monopoly. The people of Ireland,

printed, it was never published ; for their lordships, finding Limerick reduced to the condition of capitulating, smothered the proclamation, and hastened to the camp, that they might hold the Irish to as hard terms as the king's affairs would permit—this they effected, and although (says Mr Harris) they deserved the thanks of every protestant in Ireland, yet a party soon sprung up that inveighed loudly against these articles. The designing men of this party quarrelled with them only because their expectations were disappointed of raising large fortunes out of the forfeitures. Those designing men to whom Mr Harris, the biographer of William, alludes, are exactly similar to the orangemen of our day, who will not be satisfied with less than a monopoly of the constitution, and all the advantages which those who are brought under its shelter must necessarily enjoy. But the wisdom of the conduct adopted by the English general, and to which the English monarch gave his most hearty assent, is best shewn by a statement of the events which occurred soon after those articles we have recited were signed by all the parties. Macpherson, in his history of England, thus writes :—

when restored to the full and unconditional possession of the constitution, shall only be recovering the rights of which they were basely plundered ; which they purchased by their blood, and for the enjoyment of which, they at length agreed to lay down their arms. The unconditional repeal of the penal laws against the catholics, would be no more than the faithful fulfilment of that contract, which King William, of “immortal memory,” most basely violated.

“ The Irish having obtained such good terms with such facility, imbibed an opinion that they might have extorted conditions still more favourable from an enemy so exhausted. The arrival of the French fleet, two days after the capitulation, with arms, stores, provisions, and ammunition, confirmed them in their sentiments on this subject. But that circumstance, in conjunction with many other obvious reasons, justified William for putting an end to the war. Many millions had already been expended in the reduction of Ireland. The army, though victorious in the field, were exhausted with fatigue—winter was approaching—the siege of Limerick must in all probability have been raised; a second disappointment before that place would have been equal to defeat. The spirits of the Irish would rise, and the French, encouraged by their success, would have aided their allies with effect.”

Notwithstanding the solemnity with which the articles of Limerick were signed, and notwithstanding the miserable alternative which it is obvious William had to make choice of, (either the granting to the Irish the rights for which they had so bravely fought, or if, refusing these, the miserable prolongation of a contest in which William might have lost this valuable portion of his empire,) in the face of such considerations, the minister of the gospel, the bishop of Meath, felt it his duty to recommend, with christian and evangelic mildness, the immediate violation of the articles which had been granted to the barbarous Irish. This pious divine, this herald of peace to mankind, was not

attended to *at present*. Policy, if not justice, ordered him to be silent; and with pleasure we record, that his infamous doctrines were opposed, in the true spirit of a christian minister, by Dr Morton, the bishop of Kildare.

When the fears of monopoly subsided, when the Irish catholic was disarmed, the English adventurer and the Irish task-master commenced their *sacred* work of plunder. All the obligations of truth, justice, honour, and humanity vanished, and no sound was heard but the yells of intolerance and the cries of brave and suffering innocence. No wonder that the Irish heart should swell with indignation when going over those dismal scenes of cowardly oppression and rapacious profligacy. No wonder that a long period of mild and parental government should be required to obliterate from the memory of Irishmen, the record of such odious and vulgar treachery. The Roman conqueror left to the countries he conquered, their laws, their religion, and their rights. He did not break faith with the vanquished, and thus proclaim war against humanity. His policy was as generous as wise; it facilitated the march of his armies, and taught mankind to believe, that the Roman conquests were not incompatible either with their security or their happiness. The great champions of English freedom, will hereafter be found the busy forgers of Ireland's chains; the panders to the religious as well as national prejudices of their countrymen; the encouragers of the worst species of tyranny, the tyranny of a few over the many, and the injudicious and short-sighted ex-

tinguishers of the genius and industry of our country.

The great Englishmen who contributed to the completion of that proud edifice of human liberty, of which England can now boast, were the most remorseless tyrants in Ireland. Their ingenuity was directed to prolong the tortures of their victim, and to demonstrate to the world, how inferior the pagan tyrants of antiquity were to the modern tyrants of our christian age. The reader will commence the following reigns with a heavy and afflicted heart, because he has to witness each day exceeding the other in the magnitude of human depravity, and the men, whom the English historian holds up to his admiration, the active and fanatical instruments of unexampled oppression and misery. He will see how much more cruel is the avarice of monopoly than the sword of the conqueror. He will see the confiscator of his country, shrouded in the garb of religion, seeking whom he may devour, his rapacity increasing with his impunity, and his oppressions multiplying with the weakness of his victim. He will see the miserable people thus abused, insulted with the praises of the free constitution under which they were living; and, while their wounds were still fresh from the lash of intolerance, it will be no uncommon spectacle to behold their executioners crying out for new tortures and new penalties. What enlightened reader, who has read the history of Ireland from the reformation, who has followed her sufferings through the sanguinary period of Elizabeth, James, and Crom-

well, who has observed the dreadful revolutions of her property and devastation of the inhabitants, will hesitate to say, that it was the duty of Irishmen to stand by James II. with the same zeal with which Englishmen opposed him? He was the friend of their religious and civil liberty. England was his enemy, because he tolerated the religion of Ireland. It was not for Ireland to consider his motives or his ultimate objects; they might have been despotic, he might have sought the extinction of British freedom through the medium of Irish liberty; yet, still it was the obvious line of Ireland's duty to act as she did; to defend her rights and her religion against a nation which so long laboured to destroy both. The bravery with which they fought the battle, should be the best recommendation of the people of Ireland, to an enlightened monarch of the British empire; it demonstrates the advantage of that policy which gives to a nation such a cause as is worth their defending. The strength of those deductions from the facts we have been recording, do not require support from any opinion, however eminent or distinguished. They are self-evident truths, which flash on every honest unsophisticated understanding; yet, it will not be considered any breach of historical correctness, to introduce here, the sentiments of perhaps the most illustrious and able senator that ever adorned the British senate, whose philosophic eloquence has left to succeeding times the most profound and enlightened political lessons of instruction. Our great countryman, Edmund Burke, in a letter to

his son, in the year 1793, thus gives his opinion of the conduct of the Irish catholic during the reign of James II. :—

“ Let us come to a later period of those confiscations, with the memory of which the gentlemen who triumph in the acts of 1782 are so much delighted. The Irish again rebelled against the English Parliament in 1688, and the English Parliament again put up to sale the greatest part of their estates. I do not presume to defend the Irish for this rebellion, nor to blame the English Parliament for this confiscation. The Irish, it is true, did not revolt from King James’s power. He threw himself upon their fidelity, and they supported him to the best of their power. Be the crime of that obstinate adherence to an abdicated sovereign against a prince whom the parliaments of Ireland and Scotland had encouraged, what it may ; I do not mean to justify this rebellion more than the former ; it might, however, admit some palliation in them. In generous minds some small degree of compassion might be excited for an error, where they were misled, as Cicero says to a conqueror, “ *quadam specie et similitudine pacis*,”—not without a mistaken appearance of duty, and for which the guilty have suffered by exile abroad and slavery at home, to the extent of their folly or their offence. The best calculators compute that Ireland lost 200,000 of her inhabitants in that struggle. If the principle of the English and Scotch resistance, at the revolution, is to be justified (as sure I am it is) the submission of Ireland must be somewhat extenuated. For if the

Irish resisted King William, they resisted him on the very same principle that the English and Scotch resisted King James. The Irish catholics must have been the very worst and the most truly unnatural of rebels, if they had not supported a prince whom they had seen attacked, not for any designs against their religion or their liberties, but for an extreme partiality for their sect ; and who, far from trespassing on their liberties and properties, secured both them and the independence of their country, in much the same manner that we have seen the same things done at the period of 1782."

Here is the commentary of one of the greatest statesmen who appeared in the eighteenth century, on that part of our history which is held up by the ignorant and the mercenary, as the greatest stain in our national character ; which is denominated an act of rebellion, rather than an honourable exertion of men struggling for their freedom and their religion. The great calumniators of the Irish catholic have sunk into the tomb, and the few who remain are no longer attended to. Truth is at length gaining the ascendant. The catholic of the present day may now confidently trace his freedom to the recollection of that courage which in 1691 so bravely defended it.

THE

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

A.D. 1691. **THE** surrender of Limerick, on the condition of Irish freedom, closed the struggle between this country and England. The right of William to the Irish throne was acknowledged and submitted to, and the establishment of the civil and religious liberties of Irishmen was expected to have succeeded to the intolerance of fanaticism and the rapacity of monopoly. The battle was bravely fought by the Irish people; and from the character which their illustrious opponent enjoyed in his own country, they most reasonably hoped that they might repose with confidence on the faithful fulfilment of any treaty to which the necessities of the English monarch might have compelled him to accede. Ireland therefore sheathed her sword, in the ingenuous confidence of having an honourable enemy to treat with. How those expectations were fulfilled—how that confidence was preserved—how

the honour of the English nation has been maintained in her solemn treaties with Ireland, let it be the office of history to record. It has hitherto been our duty to relate the struggles of an armed, though abused nation, with the jealousy, the bigotry and the rapacity of England. The reader has waded through scenes of slaughter and desolation. He has followed the Irishman in his various efforts to defend the religion and liberties of his country. During this sad melancholy progress, he was sometimes relieved by the spectacle of successful retaliation or unprovoked aggression, and he has been often consoled by the temporary exhibition of a courage which would add lustre to the proudest achievements of ancient or modern days. Until the period to which we have now arrived, we had never to contemplate the cowardly exercise of a tyranny which trampled on the man it deceived; which tortured the victim it disarmed; which pledged its faith in order to betray; and with all the contemptible malice of a voracious jealousy, was perpetually plundering the courage which it feared.

That revolution which was the fruitful parent of so many blessings to England, was the copious source of Ireland's bitterest sufferings; the great event which completed the establishment of British freedom, confirmed the slavery of Ireland.* The links

* The excellent Dr Curry commences his history of the Irish persecutions, from the revolution, in the following feeling and pathetic strain.

“ After a tedious and melancholy narrative of the state of the Irish catholics at different periods, for the space of more than

of that chain which were struck from the English nation were more than doubled on the mind and the arm of Ireland. The accumulated vengeance of the last two hundred years, was poured on the devoted head of our country by the monarch of "immortal memory." Even the miserable instruments of English despotism were chained to the oar; they should strike at the will of their masters, and truckle to their passions, if they hoped to preserve their confidence. The little miserable monopolists whom the reader will see exhibiting from time to time on the political stage of Ireland, were little more than the well paid executioners of their fellow citizens; their duty was to wield the lash and torture the victim; their employment was the degradation and impoverishment of their country; their wages, the government of that country which their folly or their treason, or their avarice had wasted. Every revolution experienced by Ireland, from the invasion, but left a new in-

one hundred and fifty years, I should have no occasion to relate the following, had their sufferings ended at the surrender of Limerick. Then, indeed, they might subscribe with others in proclaiming the change a glorious revolution. But the conditions they had by that surrender obtained, (I may say sealed with their blood), though agreed upon and signed by both parties, in the most solemn manner, and afterwards ratified and approved by both their majesties, King William and Queen Mary, under the great seal of England, were soon after basely infringed, contrary to the law of nature, the law of nations, and the public faith. The infringement of those articles on the part of government, commenced very early after they were signed; and it was afterwards repeated from time to time, in such a manner, as to prepare the minds of the people to receive with less surprise, the total violation of them, by acts 'to prevent the further growth of popery,' which were then in contemplation."

gradient of bitterness in the cup of misfortune. Every change was from bad to worse ; so that the Irish patriot who sympathised with her fortunes, might have lamented that the sword of annihilation had left a subject on which her future tyrants could indulge their malice. A celebrated writer on the English constitution, speaking of the various revolutions which took place in England, has the following observations :—

“If we peruse the history of England,” says De Lolme, “we shall be peculiarly struck with one circumstance to be observed in it, and which distinguishes most advantageously the English government from all other free governments—I mean the manner in which revolutions and public commotions have always been terminated in England. If we read with some attention the history of other free states, we shall see the public dissensions that have taken place in them, have constantly been terminated by settlements, in which the interests only of a few were really provided for, while the grievances of the many were hardly, if ever, attended to. In England the very reverse has happened, and we find revolutions always to have been terminated by extensive and accurate provisions for securing the general liberty.”

In Ireland we have hitherto found that revolutions terminated in the forging of new chains and the multiplication of new tortures. The liberty of England and the slavery of Ireland have invariably proceeded together ; Ireland going down as England ascended. Posterity have justly concluded that the rights of

Irishmen and the prosperity of England cannot exist together—a melancholy truth, which the events of the present day only contribute to confirm, and which is still left to the enlightened English government of future days to refute. The lights of history cannot be extinguished, nor her powerful voice silenced. The conclusions we have drawn are irresistible, and the idle violence which attempts to punish their publication only impresses those truths more deeply on the mind. The glories of William and of Anne—the victories of Marlborough, and the universal conquests of Chatham, have been the most disastrous epochs of Ireland. Never was the heart of our country so low as when England was the envy and the terror of her enemies. The sounds of English triumphs were to her the sounds of sorrow—the little tyrants who ruled her were inflamed with courage, and urged on with increased rancour—the unhappy catholics of Ireland, who always constituted the nation, were doomed to be again insulted and tortured with impunity—and the protestant parliaments of our country, as if their existence depended on their servility, will be seen sacrificing even their own properties, as well as those of their catholic countrymen, to the insatiable monopoly of England—yet all those scenes were the offspring of that revolution in which Englishmen most justly triumph—a revolution which, De Lolme says, terminated by a series of public acts in which no interests but those of the people at large were considered and provided for. The series of public acts which the same revolution produced in Ireland,

were directed to sacrifice the peace, happiness and security of Irishmen to the establishment of a contemptible monopoly, which rendered them for seventy years the degraded slaves of a system that beggared and insulted them. The enlightened protestant of the present day, looks back with horror on that profligate folly which gratified the malignity of a foreign country, in the enactment of a system of legislation which puts into the shade the more humane, because less lingering despotism of the inquisition. He shudders at the recollection of that infatuated spirit of ascendancy which chained the hand of industry, barbarized the infant mind, broke up all the social feelings, bribed the child to betray his parent, and the perjured apostate to plunder the innocent and conscientious. The protestants of the present day hasten with one voice to cancel the odious record and to bury it in eternal oblivion. The English revolution of 1688, for the anniversary of which the bells of ascendancy ring the annual peal, was the consummation of Irish suffering—it should be therefore looked on by the honest Irishman, as a theory from which he might derive gratification in the contemplation, but as a practical curse, with which his unfortunate country was visited at the very moment she ought to have shared in its blessings. The protestant of the present day thus reasons; he adopts the language and the opinions of that great man, whose towering genius first contributed to dissipate the fog of religious prejudice, and expose the miseries which it concealed. Cheerfully does he bow to the reason-

ing of the great Edmund Burke, when he thus describes the constitution of 1688, as practised in Ireland by the parliamentary task-masters.

“ I cannot,” says our great countryman, in his letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, “ possibly confound in my mind all the things that were done at the revolution, with the principles of the revolution ; as in most great changes, many things were done from the necessities of the time, well or ill understood, from passion or from vengeance, which were not only not perfectly agreeable to its principles, but in the most direct contradiction to them. I shall not think that the deprivation of some millions of all the rights of citizens, and all the interest in the constitution, in and to which they were born, was a thing conformable to the declared principles of the revolution. This I am sure is true, relatively to England (where the operation of these anti-principles comparatively were of little extent) ; and some of our late laws, in repealing acts made immediately after the revolution, admit that some things then done were not done in the true spirit of the revolution. But the revolution operated differently in England and Ireland, in many, and these essential particulars. Supposing the principles to be altogether the same in both kingdoms, by the application of these principles to very different objects, the whole spirit of the system was changed, not to say reversed. In England it was the struggle of the great body of the people for the establishment of their liberties against the efforts of a very small faction, who would have

oppressed them. In Ireland it was the establishment of the power of the smaller number, at the expence of the civil liberties and properties of the whole. It was, to say the truth, not a revolution, but a conquest; which is not to say a great deal in its favour.

“To insist upon every thing done in Ireland at the revolution, would be to insist on the severe and jealous policy of a conqueror in the crude settlement of his new acquisition, as a permanent rule for its future government. This, no power, in any country that I have ever heard of, has done or professed, except in Ireland, where it is done, and possibly by some people will be professed. Time has, by degrees, in all other places and periods, blended the conquered and the conquerors. So, after some time, and after one of the most rigid conquests that we read of in history, the Normans softened into the English.” Mr Burke then proceeds to trace to their true and proper source, the causes of that infamous code of laws which was enacted during the reigns upon which we are now entering. To do justice to Mr Burke, the entire of his admirable letter should be copied into this compendium; but the limits of our work forbid so large a quotation. The following observations, however, are so good an introduction to the reign of that sovereign who first commenced the statute war against the catholics of Ireland, that we shall make no apology for requesting the reader’s attention to their truth as well as to their philosophy.

“For a much longer period than that,” says Mr

Burke, " which had sufficed to blend the Romans with the nation to which, of all others, they were most adverse, the protestants settled in Ireland, considered themselves in no other light than that of a sort of colonial garrison to keep the natives in subjugation to the other state of Great Britain.— The whole spirit of the revolution in Ireland was that of not the mildest conqueror. In truth, the spirit of those proceedings did not commence at that æra, nor was religion of any kind their primary object. What was done, was not in the spirit of a contest between two religious factions, but between two adverse nations. The statutes of Kilkenny show that the spirit of the popery laws, and some even of their actual provisions, as applied between Englishry and Irishry, had existed in that harassed country before the words protestant and papist were heard of in the world. If we read Baron Finglass, Spencer, and Sir John Davis, we cannot miss the true genius and policy of the English government there, before the revolution, as well as during the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth. Sir John Davis boasts of the benefits received by the natives, by extending to them the English law, and turning the whole kingdom into shire ground. But the appearance of things alone was changed. The original scheme was never deviated from a single hour. Unheard-of confiscations were made in the northern parts, upon grounds of plots and conspiracies never proved upon their supposed authors. The war of chicane succeeded to the war of arms, and a regular series of operations were

carried on, particularly from Chichester's time, in the ordinary courts of justice, and by special commissions and inquisitions, first under pretence of tenures, and then of titles in the crown, for the purpose of the total extirpation of the interest of the natives in their own soil, until this species of subtle ravage being carried to the last excess of oppression and insolence under Lord Strafford, it kindled the flames of that rebellion which broke out in 1641. By the issue of that war—by the turn which Clarendon gave to things at the restoration, and by the total reduction of the kingdom of Ireland in 1691, the ruin of the native Irish, and in a great measure, too, of the first races of the English, was completely accomplished. The new English interest was settled with as solid a stability as any thing in human affairs can look for. All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression which were made after the last event, were manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon, and were not at all afraid to provoke. They were not the effect of their fears, but of their security. They who carried on this system, looked to the irresistible force of Great Britain for support in their acts of power. They were quite certain that no complaint of the natives would be heard on this side of the water, with any other sentiments than those of contempt and indignation. Their cries served only to augment their torture. Machines which could answer their purpose so well, must be of an excellent contrivance. Indeed in England

the double name of the complainants, Irish and papists (it would be hard to say, singly, which was the most odious), shut up the hearts of every one against them. Whilst that temper prevailed, and it prevailed in all its force to a time within our memory, every measure was pleasing and popular, just in proportion as it tended to harass and ruin a set of people who were looked upon as enemies to God and man, and indeed as a race of bigoted savages, who were a disgrace to human nature itself."

Every transaction during the succeeding reigns, confirms the truth and justice of Mr Burke's opinion, that the sufferings of Ireland proceeded as much, if not more, from national than religious animosity. We shall hereafter see the miserable parliament of the pale, or the colonial garrison, as Mr Burke more appositely calls it, obliged to crouch to the orders and the wishes of their jealous mercantile rivals. The servitude of those parliaments to their English masters was compensated for, by allowing the former to wreak their merciless vengeance on their unoffending catholic countrymen. They were the destructive medium which collected the rays of that sun that burned up the industry and genius of our country.

The disposition on the part of England to abuse the authority which she now saw no great probability of being controuled or resisted, soon displays itself in the fury of its resolutions against the property and the liberties of the Irish catholic. They boldly remonstrate with their sovereign on the too great indulgence the Irish catholics experienced in

that treaty which put an end to the Irish war. With all the cowardly vengeance of fanaticism they call upon him to violate the royal honour which had been pledged to Ireland—to minister to their passions for confiscation and plunder, and leave the unoffending and disarmed people of Ireland to the savage mercy of an English tribunal.* The king replied to the English commons, in such a tone and

* Mr Matthew O'Connor, a respected member of the Catholic Board, and relative of the illustrious Charles O'Connor of Ballinagar, to whom Ireland owes so much of her present consequence and happiness, has lately given to his countrymen a very valuable view of the state of Irish catholics from the settlement in 1691. Speaking of the principles and conduct of king William, Mr O'Connor has the following observations:—

“The admirers of that prince will find in his lenient administration a subject of panegyric. To whatever cause it was owing, whether to innate humanity, or to the wise policy of conciliating his subjects of every persuasion, or to his fears, from perpetual discomfiture in his continental wars, certain it is, that for the first four years of his reign in Ireland, he proved a mild and beneficent sovereign. He extended the protection of the law to all classes of his subjects, without distinction of sects, and screened the catholics from the insolence, rapacity, and tyranny of the party that had been triumphant.” And in another place Mr O'Connor says, “in matters of religion King William was liberal, enlightened, and philosophic. Equally a friend to religious as to civil liberty, he granted toleration to dissenters of all descriptions, regardless of their speculative opinions. In the early part of his reign, the Irish catholics enjoyed the full and free exercise of their religion. They were protected in their persons and properties; their industry was encouraged; and under his mild and fostering administration, the desolation of the late war began to disappear, and prosperity, peace, and confidence to smile once more on the country.” It may be asked here, are those the qualities for which the memory of King William is styled by the orangeman “the immortal memory?”

language as strongly manifested the royal indignation at the unprincipled tendency of their address, and in this instance displayed that character for toleration and humanity which distinguished him on the continent. In truth, we are not to expect that this monarch, however liberal or enlightened, could long resist the perpetual pressure of that prejudice which characterized the English. He held his crown by the consent of that very people who called upon him to act with injustice and dishonour by Ireland. We must therefore acknowledge that his natural disposition had but little opportunity of displaying itself; and that however ruinous the laws, which were passed during the reign of William, were to the liberties of Ireland, we should, in candour, rather attribute their enactment to the ascendancy of English councils, than the wish of the English sovereign to violate those principles, the practice of which had made him so dear to his native country. The English parliament did not stop here; they lost no time in asserting their superior authority over Ireland, by a legislative exclusion of the catholic from a seat in either houses of the Irish parliament; a sufficient evidence of the contempt with which they viewed any possible resistance which Ireland might make to recover her liberties. Nor did the Irish protestant parliament experience much indulgence from the proud usurping parliament of England. It was not so much the exclusion of the catholic as the extinction of an Irish parliament, which the whigs of England aspired to; and, therefore, with a most contemptuous in-

difference, the English sovereign continued to regulate and control the civil, military, and ecclesiastical departments of Ireland, as if no Irish parliament had been in existence.—So truly ridiculous is the struggle of a faction with the strength of a nation. The catholics were excluded and disarmed; they were hated and suspected; the result was, that the ascendant religion of protestantism exhibited all the impatience of intolerance, and all the insignificance of an insulted and feeble sect. The Irish protestant of that day, conceived that his power was advanced by the slavery of the catholic; that England would suffer him to play the tyrant if he would submit to be her slave; but the degradation which he sought against his catholic countrymen, was in the very outset of his foolish triumphs, his most bitter punishment. “It was,” as Mr Grattan somewhere beautifully observes, “liberty without energy or power. It presented the protestant with a monopoly, with the image of a monster, in a state when the heart gives no circulation, and the limbs no life—a nominal representative and a nominal people. Call not this your misfortune, it is your sentence, it is your execution. Never could the law of nature suffer one sect of men to take away the liberty of another, and that of a numerous part of their people, without feeling a diminution of their own strength and freedom.” The Irish protestant parliament of 1692, who so piously triumphed in the disfranchisement of their catholic countrymen, were in their turn trampled on by the feet of an English parliament.

The Irish protestants most wisely threw down the pillar on which they could have leaned, and were soon seen creeping through the ruins of that temple which their foolish policy contributed to destroy. The unfortunate catholics were no longer regarded by the government of Ireland, but as subjects on which prejudice and avarice might exercise their ingenious malice. The orangemen of this period, estimated their loyalty or their sycophancy by the bitterness of their hostility to the civil and religious liberty of their catholic countrymen. Their ambition was to rule in a land of slavery, and the little efforts which they sometimes made to rise from the degraded character of mere slave drivers, only exhibit their impotence and imbecility. Lord Sydney, Sir Charles Porter, and Thomas Coningsby, were first lords justices of Ireland in the reign we are now recording. Sydney was created lord lieutenant, and proceeded, in 1692, to convene the first parliament which, with the exception of King James's parliament, sat in Ireland for twenty-six years.

This parliament had the courage, after excluding the strength of the country, to aspire to the character of an independent legislature. They disputed the right of the English parliament to legislate for Ireland ; they rejected a money bill because it did not originate with the Irish parliament, and put on record their strong reprobation of the smallest infringement on the ancient rights of the Irish legislature. The lord lieutenant was not to be intimidated by words ; he was well aware that a le-

gislature of monopolists should not be reading lectures on parliamentary independence, and his answer to their high sounding assertion of "rights," was a good lesson of instruction to point out the importance of that principle which excluded the spirit as well as the strength of the nation. When the Irish parliament was a mixed assembly, protestant and catholic, the lord lieutenant might practise his power and his artifice, divide and distract, but he never presumed to utter the language of Lord Sydney, who told this protestant parliament of the pale, "that they ought to go to England to beg their majesties' pardon for their seditious and riotous assemblies." Lord Strafford, in the period of his greatest power, dared not use such language to the parliament of his day; because the people were interested in the support of its character, and would not, as in the instance before us, take pleasure in being the witness of its degradation.

The proceedings of Lord Sydney offended some of the leading men among the protestants, and every effort was made to procure his removal. A promise of more submissive conduct (if we are to judge by the future proceedings of the Irish parliament), succeeded in procuring the removal of Sydney; and his Lordship's successor, Lord Capel, was appointed in 1695, as being the best qualified to execute the wishes of his master in the English cabinet. The Irish parliament seemed now to be of opinion, that the price of the few humble privileges which they might be allowed by England to

enjoy, would be the multiplication of several penal statutes against their catholic brethren, and that the best proofs they could give of the sincerity of their loyalty, was the unpitying fury with which they pursued their unoffending countrymen. They therefore began, with a pious and loyal ardour, the glorious work of that penal code which now strikes mankind with horror ; which would justify any resistance, however violent—any vengeance, however dreadful. This penal code, for the repeal of which Ireland has had the unexampled patience to petition, would have armed every land in England. Englishmen would have again appealed to the spirits of their iron barons. Their Russells, their Hampdens, and their Sydneys would have rallied whatever of honour or patriotism was in the land ; and the blood of the persecutors, who could have enacted such laws, should have washed out the odious record, and thus have atoned for their crimes against justice and humanity ; yet Ireland has carried her chains year after year,—she has manifested more than Christian fortitude under somewhat more than Christian suffering,—she has served the hand which so often plunged the dagger in her bosom,—and she has been insulted, during the dreadful scene, with the title of rebel to her king and constitution. The catholics of Ireland have petitioned,—the people of England would have rebelled. The reward of the Irish nation has been partial freedom, that of England has been the first constitution in the world. The tyrants of Ireland were the champions of British liberty, who have

so often refused to the humility of the Irish petitioners what they extorted from their kings by the terror of their swords. Those historical facts require no comment. The mind of the reader will draw its own conclusions; and whether protestant or catholic, or presbyterian, he will ask himself how a people should speak or act, when they are about seeking the restoration of their rights, the mere performance of a contract which has been infamously violated. Is it in the tones of lady-like meekness that Englishmen assert the rights of their country? Is it in the language of hollow, hypocritical sycophancy, the people of England address their rulers, when they complain of their privileges violated, or their freedom impaired? Do they measure their words, or do they ever suppose that words can be too strong to give expression to their honest indignation? This, then, should ever be the tone and language of the Irish nation: no other is either audible or intelligible in the parliament of England; you are heard because you are respected, and you are respected because you are not afraid to express your resentment. Those observations most naturally precede the recital of the laws which we are now about to set down,—laws which made the protestant despicable, and the catholic a slave; which made Ireland a prison, and the Irish protestant nothing better than the jailor. “Never,” says Mr Grattan, the profound and eloquent advocate of religious and political freedom, “could the law of nature suffer one sect of men to take away the liberty of another, and that of a

numerous part of their people, without feeling a diminution of their own strength and freedom ; but in making laws on the subject of religion, we forget mankind, until their own distraction admonishes statesmen of two truths ; the one, that there is a God, the other, that there is a people ; never was it permitted to any nation—they may perplex their understanding with various apologies—but never long was it permitted, to exclude from essential, from what they themselves have pronounced essential blessings, a great portion of themselves, for periods of time, and for no reason, or what is worse, for such reason as you have advanced. Conquerors, or tyrants proceeding from conquerors, have scarcely ever, for any length of time, governed by those partial disabilities.” “ But a people so to govern itself,” says Mr Grattan, “ or rather, under the name of government, so to exclude one another ; the industrious, the opulent, the useful ; that part that feeds you with its industry, and supplies you with its taxes, weaves that you may wear, and ploughs that you may eat ;—to exclude a body so useful, so numerous, and that for, and in the mean time, to tax them *ad libitum*, and occasionally to pledge their lives and fortunes, for what ? for their disfranchisement ; it cannot be done : continue it, and you expect from your laws what it were blasphemy to ask of your Maker. Such policy always turns on the inventor, and bruises him under the stroke of the sceptre or the sword, or sinks him under the accumulation of debt and loss of dominion.” Yet such was the fatal and disastrous policy

which the protestant parliament of King William felt it necessary to adopt, for the security of church and state ; it established the ascendancy, but it laid waste the country ; and the Irish monopolist, who was daily insulted by the haughty mandates of his English task-master, might console himself for the loss of his proper station as an Irishman, by the wretched sentiment of pride, with which he might parade through the desert fields, and haggard population of his unfortunate country. The Irish parliament of 1695, proceeded to the great work of enlightened legislature, whose effects have been described by the glowing pencil of our Grattan ; and it must be admitted, they proceeded most methodically in their honourable office. They began by striking at the root of human power or human feeling. They passed an act for the establishment of general ignorance among the catholics of Ireland ; or, in the words of the act, to restrain foreign and domestic education ;* a sort of legislative hu-

* Mr Matthew O'Connor, speaking of this proceeding of the Irish parliament, has the following observations :—

“ In the plenitude of the power now granted to them, they passed the act to restrain foreign education, designing thereby nothing less than to brutalise the Irish. The apology for this violation of the laws of God and man, rests on the danger that resulted to the state from the many seminaries of learning which the Irish had in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany ; but the provisions of the act restraining foreign education, evidently demonstrate that its aim was not to guard against the alleged danger, but to root out the seeds of knowledge, and to extirpate the catholic religion altogether.”

Mr O'Connor has, in a former part of his work, represented

manity, which enacted, that the mind hereafter to be enslaved, should be as insensible as possible of its degradation; or, as Mr Burke finely describes the act,—“While this restraint upon foreign and domestic education was part of an horrible and impious system of servitude, the members were well suited to the body. To render them patient, under a deprivation of all the rights of human nature, every thing which could give them a knowledge or feeling of those rights was rationally forbidden. To render humanity fit to be insulted, it was fit that it should be degraded. Indeed, I have ever thought the prohibition of the means of improving our rational nature, to be the worst species of tyranny that the insolence and perverseness of mankind ever dared to exercise. This goes to all men, in all situations, to whom education can be denied.”

This loyal parliament then passed an act for banishing all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all the regulars of the popish clergy, out of Ireland, contrary to the express letter of the articles of Limerick, which secured the toleration of the catholic religion and the safety of the priest-

King William as the friend of the Irish catholics. Was William of so bending a disposition as to yield to the wishes of his Irish parliament, if they did not completely correspond with his own? We fear that the infamous code of laws to which he has given his consent, is sufficient to give a very different species of immortality to King William, than the Irish monopolists are in the habit of bestowing on him. Indeed every enlightened protestant, as well as catholic, must abhor the memory of a monarch, who, willing to give freedom to his own country, could so easily consent to the slavery and the misery of Ireland.

hood. They then passed an act to prevent protestants intermarrying with papists. Such were the acts which the glorious revolution of 1688 gave to Ireland. But this loyal parliament of Lord Capel*

* The Irish house of lords did not surrender to the unprincipled rapacity of the commons without a struggle; they manifested some regard for their honour and their character, in the resistance which they made to this insulting outrage on the feelings of the Irish nation. Seven spiritual and five temporal peers have put on record their abhorrence of this perfidious violation of a solemn compact, aggravated by the mockery, that it pretended to confirm what it purposed to destroy. It is conclusive on the merits of this infamous transaction, and worthy the attention of those who contend that the articles of Limerick were not violated by the Irish legislature. The protest of the Irish lords is as follows:—

“ 1. Because the title did not agree with the body of the bill; the title being an act for the confirmation of the Irish articles, whereas no one of said articles was therein fully confirmed. 2. Because the articles were to be confirmed to them to whom they were granted; but the confirmation of them by that bill was such, that it put them in a worse condition than they were in before. 3. Because the bill omitted the material words, “ and all such as are under their protection in the said counties,” which were, by his majesty’s titles patent, declared to be part of the second article; and several persons had been adjudged within said articles who would, if the bill passed into a law, be entirely barred and excluded, so that the words omitted being so very material, and confirmed by his majesty after a solemn debate in council, some express reason ought to be assigned in the bill, in order to satisfy the world in that omission. 4. Because several words were inserted in the bill which were not in the articles, and others omitted, which altered both the sense and meaning thereof. Lastly, because they apprehended that many protestants might and would suffer by the bill in their just rights and pretensions, by reason of their having purchased, and lent money, upon the faith of said article.”

could not refrain from mocking the nation they thus had injured,—they blended their humour with their ferocity, and in a jocular way passed an act for the confirmation of the articles of Limerick. The reader will suppose, that the English government should not have been very jealous of any power with which the protestant ascendancy might be armed, when they so faithfully turned those arms against the civil and religious liberties of their catholic countrymen. The Irish parliament, however, presumed rather too much on their past services to England. Though they were so obedient as to forge chains for the catholics, they should not flatter themselves with the liberty of making their own laws or regulating their own slaves. They were for the future to consider themselves as the humbled agents of an English government, prompt at every call which national jealousy would give to inflict or suspend the torture. The case of Mr Molyneux, the distinguished author of the book styled “The cause of Ireland’s being bound by acts of Parliament in England, stated,” is a proof in point. This book asserted the legislative independence of Ireland. It talked of the rights of Irishmen; but the author forgot that he was struggling for the independence of a monopoly, and that in such a contest the people took no part. The catholics of Ireland, who were the great majority, must have smiled at the impotence of that sect which were so infatuated as to strip their natural defenders of their arms; they must have triumphed in the degradation of such folly, and se-

cretly delighted in the humiliation of their native tyrants. The promptitude with which King William declared his determination to secure the independence of the Irish parliament, is perhaps one of the many reasons why his "immortal memory," is so often celebrated by that description of Irishmen called Orangemen. The Irish house of commons, in one of their intervals from the prosecution of their catholic countrymen, had the imprudence to make some little effort on behalf of their own legislative independence; their great zeal for King William, they credulously supposed, would have been a sufficient atonement for such an experiment. The fate of Mr Molyneux's book dissipated all their hopes, and all the power they would be allowed to wield was the power of putting to the torture those of their countrymen who now lay at their feet, unable to resist their oppressors. The English parliament voted an address, desiring he would give directions for the discovery and punishment of the author. They implored his Majesty that he would take care to see the laws which direct and restrain the parliament of Ireland punctually observed, and discourage every thing which might have a tendency to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England. How was this remonstrance of the house of commons received by King William of "immortal memory?" His Majesty most graciously promised, that he would make every exertion to promote the wishes of his parliament, or in other words, that he would put down the legislative independence of the Irish par-

liament. The Irish protestant, who reads this transaction, cannot but feel indignant at the ignorant audacity of those persons who are annually holding up King William as the great patron of Irish liberties; he cannot refrain from recalling to his recollection the proceedings of the Irish parliament during the government of King James, which asserted the independence of the Irish legislature; passed one act in favour of liberty of conscience, and another in support of the industry and the trade of Ireland. He will take down with pride and gratification, that this Irish parliament, who so acted in support of Irish freedom, was a parliament composed of protestants and catholics; that the interest and the glory of each was the interest and glory of all;—and that the parliamentary independence of Ireland was considered by them as best and most firmly secured by maintaining the rights and privileges of all classes and denominations of Christians.

The catholics of Ireland most naturally looked around for refuge against the merciless persecution of intolerance. They appealed in vain to the letter of a solemn treaty which secured their liberties and properties; they appealed in vain to the honour of the *immortal* King William, to stand between them and the never-ceasing fire of the Irish parliament. They therefore made their last appeal to the powers of the continent; to Charles II. of Spain, and Leopold IV. of Austria, the then *catholic* allies of Great Britain. The overwhelming ambition of Lewis XIV. united the arms of England, Austria, and Spain; but had Austria or Spain interfered for

the catholics, the friends of religious liberty in England, the whigs of England, would have been slow in giving to the British monarch the necessary supplies to support him in his favourite object. They required, as the condition of their zeal in his support, full and uncontrolled permission to torture the Irish catholic; and the strange spectacle was now exhibited to the reflection and the indignation of all enlightened men, namely, a miserable competition between the great advocates of British liberty and the French monarch, Lewis XIV. who would be the greatest tyrant over the human mind; who would be the most zealous oppressor of conscience; or who would most boldly set at defiance the laws of God and the rights of human nature. Lewis XIV. banished 800,000 protestants, who were embellishing and enriching his empire by their genius, their industry, and their virtues. He repealed the edict of Nantz, which the enlightened policy of Henry IV. gave to suffering humanity. This does not astonish, because it was the act of an ignorant, rapacious and unprincipled monarch; but that he should find a rival in the British parliament, which boasted of establishing in their own country the finest constitution on earth, must excite the surprise and sorrow of every reader. That parliament, and their creatures in the Irish parliament, banished millions from Ireland, because they committed the atrocious crime of persevering in a religion professed by the great majority of the Christian world, which was once the religion of

England, and was then the hope and consolation of every Irishman. *

* Mr Burke, in his admirable tract on the penal laws, (perhaps one of the most valuable productions which came from that great man,) draws the following parallel between the conduct of the French despot and bigot with that of the English and Irish protestants and presbyterians, in the reign of William. The profound views of this great statesman are so likely to be read with interest, and to be estimated with veneration by the majority of those into whose hands this compendium will fall, that we feel it an important part of our duty to make such extracts as bear upon the period and the events which we may happen to be recording. Speaking of that perfidious act of Louis the XIV., namely, the repeal of the edict of Nantz, Mr Burke thus observes :—“ This act of injustice, which let loose on that monarch such a torrent of invective and reproach, and which threw so dark a cloud over all the splendour of a most illustrious reign, falls far short of the case in Ireland. The privileges which the protestants of that kingdom enjoyed antecedent to this revocation, were far greater than the Roman Catholics of Ireland ever aspired to under a contrary establishment. The number of their sufferers, if considered absolutely, is not the half of ours; if considered relatively to the body of each community, it is not perhaps a twentieth part; and then the penalties and incapacities, which grew from that revocation, are not so grievous in their nature, nor so certain in their execution, nor so ruinous by a great deal, to the civil prosperity of the state, as those which were established for a perpetual law in our unhappy country.— It cannot be thought to arise from affectation, that I call it so. What other name can be given to a country which contains so many hundred thousand human creatures reduced to a state of most abject servitude.

“ In putting this parallel, I take it for granted that we can stand for this short time very clear of our party distinctions. If it were enough, by the use of an odious and unpopular word, to determine the question, it would be no longer a subject of rational disquisition; since that very prejudice which gives those

We have seen that King William, of “ immortal memory,” readily assented to the kind and sis-

odious names, and which is the party charged for doing so, and for the consequences of it, would then become the judge also. But I flatter myself, that not a few will be found who do not think that the names of protestant and papist can make any change in the nature of essential justice; such men will not allow that to be proper treatment to the one of those denominations which would be cruelty to the other, and which converts its very crime into the instrument of its defence. They will hardly persuade themselves, that what was bad policy in France can be good in Ireland, or that what was intolerable injustice in an arbitrary monarch, becomes, only by being more extended and more violent, an equitable procedure in a country professing to be governed by law. It is however impossible not to observe with some concern, that there are many also of a different disposition; a number of persons whose minds are so formed, that they find the communion of religion to be a close and endearing tie, and their country to be no bond at all; to whom common altars are a better relation than common habitations and a common civil interest; whose hearts are touched with the distresses of foreigners, and are abundantly awake to all the tenderness of human feeling on such an occasion, even at the moment that they are inflicting the very same distresses, or worse, on their fellow-citizens, without the least sting of compassion or remorse. To commiserate the distresses of all men suffering innocently, perhaps meritoriously, is generous, and very agreeable to the better part of our nature; a disposition that ought by all means to be cherished. But to transfer humanity from its natural basis, our legitimate and home-bred connections; to lose all feeling for those who have grown up by our sides, in our eye, the benefit of whose cares and labours we have partaken from our birth, and meretriciously to *hunt abroad after foreign affections*, is such a disarrangement of the whole system of our duties, that I do not know whether benevolence so displayed, is not almost the same thing as destroyed; or what effect bigotry could have produced, that is more fatal to society. This no one could help ob-

terly sensibilities of England towards our insulted country; he promised, with all due submission to the higher power of English prejudice, and English

serving, who has seen our doors kindly and bountifully thrown open to foreign sufferers for conscience, whilst through the same ports were issuing fugitives of our own; driven from their country, for a cause, which to an indifferent person would seem to be exactly similar; whilst we stood by without any sense of the impropriety of the extraordinary scene, accusing and practising injustice.

For my part, there is no circumstance in all the contradiction of our most mysterious nature, that appears to be more humiliating than the use we are disposed to make of those sad examples, which seem purposely marked for our correction and improvement. Every instance of fury and bigotry in other men, one should think, would naturally fill us with an horror of that disposition. The effect, however, is distinctly contrary. We are inspired, it is true, with a very sufficient hatred for the party, but with no detestation at all of the proceeding; nay, we are apt to urge our dislike of such measures as a reason for imitating them, and by an almost incredible absurdity, because some powers have destroyed their country by their persecuting spirit, to argue, that we ought to retaliate on them by destroying our own. Such are the effects, and such, I fear, has been the intention, of those numberless books which are daily printed and industriously spread, of the persecutions in other countries and other religious persuasions."

In the reign of which we are now writing, the persecution of the French protestants was the constant theme of every Englishman; it excited pity in every bosom, and sharpened the vengeance of that war which England then waged against the French nation; yet these same English who thus sympathized with the French protestant, could look on the tortures of their catholic fellow-subjects without a single emotion of compassion, or the slightest manifestation of sympathy. Such, however, has ever been the blindness of all sects to their own bigotry.

avarice and injustice, that the Irish parliament should be kept down ;—well and faithfully did this monarch of “ immortal memory” keep his word. At this period the woollen manufacture of Ireland was sufficiently prosperous and important to rouse the jealousy of our sister ; with Ireland it was a profitable branch of commerce. Before the time of Charles I. we endraped our wool, and exported what we did not consume to foreign markets. Of this privilege of export we were deprived by several acts of parliament, more especially one enacted in the reign of Charles II. which was deeply marked with the most unjust severity ; all this would not satisfy King William, of “ immortal memory.” The woollen manufacture of Ireland should be extinguished ; so great and ardent was William’s affection for the industry and prosperity of our country. Indeed this transaction is of so black and impudent a colour, that it would be doing sad injustice to the “ immortal memory” of our King William, if we did not set down the exact words of solemn introduction with which William and his audacious parliament had the hardihood to preface this unprecedented outrage on our country. The Irishman who reads this, and who witnesses the annual commemoration of that very king who thus trampled on the liberties and the rights of Ireland, cannot suppress his indignation against that impertinent faction who presume to style themselves the friends of Ireland. Irishmen may measure the wisdom and the kindness of their rulers by the frequency or the unfrequency of those exhibitions

which sometimes parade our metropolis, rouse the irritability of insulted virtue, expose the best men of our country to the insults of a mercenary yeomanry or soldiery, promote drunkenness and abandonment among aldermen, and encourage the vicious and the corrupt to make experiments on the patience of the arm, which, if once roused, could so easily extinguish them. The aldermen and the corporations of Ireland will not forget, when they are drinking “the immortal memory” of their demigod and hero, that the destruction of the woollen manufacture is not the least among the topics of recommendation which may be urged in his favour. As this miserable transaction at once displays the tyranny of King William and his parliament, and the fallen and wretched state of the Irish parliament; as it exhibits the playful mockery with which Ireland was then treated by her bitterest enemy, it would be an act of justice to set down the memorable words in which the English parliament thought proper to prevail on an Irish parliament to rob their own country. We request the reader to pay particular attention to the following specimen of English justice, during the reign of the immortal King William. In 1698, the English House of Commons addressed his Majesty to the following effect :

“ That being very sensible, the wealth and power of England do in a great measure depend on the preserving the woollen manufacture, as much as possible, entire to this realm, they thought that it became them, like their ancestors, to be

jealous of the establishment and increase thereof elsewhere ; and to use their utmost endeavours to prevent it. That they could not, without pain, observe that Ireland, which is dependent on and protected by England (what an impudent mockery !) in the enjoyment of all she has, and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which would be so enriching to themselves and so profitable to England, should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both nations. That the consequence thereof would necessitate his Majesty's parliament of England to interpose, to prevent the mischief, unless his Majesty" *of immortal memory*, "by his authority and great wisdom, should find means to secure the trade of England, by making his subjects of Ireland preserve the joint interest of both kingdoms ; wherefore they implored his Majesty's protection and favour in this matter, and that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those he employed in Ireland, to use their utmost endeavours to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, (except it be imported hither), and for the discouraging the woollen manufactures, and encouraging the linen manufactures, to which the commons of England should always be ready to give their utmost assistance."

This is so delightful an instance of English kindness to the Irish people, that we thought it would be a pity to lose one word of it. There is

so much humour in the manner with which they plunder Ireland of her property, and so candid a care of the industry and the property of England, that we do not wonder a drunken corporation should riot in ecstasy of joy when they are pouring out libations to the “immortal memory” of the monarch who so faithfully promised to put in execution against Ireland the utmost wishes of the English parliament. What did the immortal sovereign reply to the above parental address of the commons? He made answer that he should do all that in him lay to promote the trade of England, and to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland. He also promised to give all possible encouragement to linen manufactures. This is one among the many reasons why the corporations of Ireland, the last remaining depots of every thing which the enlightened protestant and catholic consider ignorant and contemptible, so perpetually offer up their incense to this sainted monarch.

To him who will estimate the qualities of King William by the infamous acts to which he was obliged to give his consent, the character of this monarch, in the exercise of his royal power in Ireland, must appear odious and detestable. Those of the Irish people who are so clamorous in his praise, found their veneration for King William on those passages of his life which excite the indignation of every honest Irishman. But justice to the memory even of a recorded enemy of Ireland, obliges us to admit, that William had to contend with a rancorous malignity, which national jealousy has always

excited and kept alive in the bosom of England. In the front of the acts which we have recited, acts which might have satisfied English rapacity, it is pleasant to find a catholic, (and a catholic, too, who should feel for the suffering of his country, and often reflect on the fame of the venerated family of which he is a member), bearing testimony to the liberality of the monarch in whose reign the war of penal law most bitterly commenced against his liberties and his religion. In a late publication of Mr Mathew O'Connor, we find the following observations; they may palliate the crimes of King William against Ireland, but they add nothing either to the strength or the firmness of his understanding. They make him a passive and pliable instrument; obedient to the suggestions of the most vicious passions; the executive of any measure of legislation which the jealousy or the avarice of commercial monopoly might please to dictate. Surely such a character is not that of a great king. Mr O'Connor thus writes:

“In Holland, this generous prince, unfettered and uncontrolled, displayed the full blaze of his shining qualities. In England, where his throne was blockaded and his power contracted; where he was forced to capitulate to faction and dismiss his guards; where he was stript of all the substantial powers, and left only the pageantry of royalty, he was forced into measures which threw a shade on the lustre of his character.” (This is rather a light description of the acts we have recited, and to which King William gave his consent. Those

acts were measures of vital importance to the comfort and happiness of four-fifths of the Irish people. Those measures into which Mr O'Connor says William was forced, were flagrant and infamous violations of that honour which this immortal sovereign pledged to Ireland.) However, Mr O'Connor proceeds: "Yet on many occasions his firmness and wisdom, and long adversity, burst all restraints, and displayed themselves at the commencement of his reign, in the avowed protection, and towards the close, in underhand countenance and partiality to the catholics. He endeavoured to atone for the acts of severity and injustice to which he was compelled to assent by the clamour of faction and the calls of necessity.—233,106 Acres were restored to catholics, adjudged to be comprized within the articles of Limerick and Galway. Those articles had been expounded beneficially in favour of the Irish by the commissioners of claims, and 74,733 were restored to persons pardoned, or whose outlawries were reversed by the special favour and protection of William. This partiality became a subject of the bitterest invective in the English commons, and forms a permanent feature in the report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the value and disposal of the forfeited estates."

Supposing even this defence to be accurate in point of fact, and Mr O'Connor has taken it from the partial authority of King William's biographer, it must be admitted, that the monarch who had not the firmness to refuse putting his hand to laws which amounted to an extirpation of the religion,

and an extinction of the rights of Ireland, was either a very weak or a very unprincipled sovereign ; nor can we see how the partial protections mentioned by Mr Harris, his panegyrist and biographer, can atone for the sweeping destruction of a whole nation, to which King William gave his prompt and efficacious assent. Speaking as Irishmen, and upon Irish liberty, we cannot admit that this king, of “ immortal memory,” should find an advocate in any pen devoted to the rights of our country. The ignorant Irish corporator toasts the “ immortal memory,” because his father and grandfather showed him the example ; but the enlightened protestant or catholic Irishman, who reads the Irish statute-book, turns from the record with indignation, and laments that the great champion of constitutional liberty should be the submissive instrument of Irish slavery.

The Irish parliament were taught, in the instance of Mr Molyneux’s book in defence of their legislative independence, how to demean themselves on the great question of the woollen trade in Ireland. Poor creatures !* the wretched victims of their own

* Mr Curran (the present master of the rolls) has given to posterity a fine picture of the situation of the parliamentary monopolists of Ireland, during the existence of their penal laws. It is one of those master touches that so often fell from the pencil of our eloquent Irishman, which succeeding orators have a hundred times repeated, and which none have improved. The reader of this passage is able to take in all the melancholy circumstances which followed in the train of the penal laws. The figure presented by the orator, comprehends all the horrors of unjust laws,

barbarous and besotted policy, they were obliged to kiss the rod, and bow in silence to the mandate of the English parliament. The lords justices called upon the Irish legislature to put down the woollen manufacture. They most respectfully answered in the affirmative; or, as Dean Swift observed, they resolved that they would rather live on *salt herrings* than the *best beef*; and therefore faithfully promised to encourage the linen manufacture of Ireland.

On the tenth of October, 1698, the Irish commons resolved that the woollen trade of Ireland should be *regulated*. The reader will attend to the mild phrase of *regulation*, and then recollect the plan of regulation this honest parliament adopted. They imposed a duty of four shillings on every twenty shillings value of broad cloth exported from the 25th of March, 1699, and two shillings on every

and he turns with pity and disgust from the consideration of a system which could generate such a monster.

“Let me ask you,” said Mr Curran to the Irish parliament of 1796, “how have those laws affected the protestant subject and protestant constitution? In that interval, were they free? Did they possess that liberty which they denied to their brethren? No: where there are *inhabitants*, but *no people*, a free government cannot be kept steady or fixed in its seat. You had indeed a government, but it was planted in civil dissention and watered in civil blood; and whilst the virtuous luxuriance of its branches aspired to heaven, its infernal roots shot downwards to their congenial regions, and were intertwined in hell. Your ancestors thought themselves the oppressors of their fellow-subjects—but they were only their jailors; and the justice of Providence would have been frustrated, if their own slavery had not been the punishment of their vice and their folly.”

twenty shillings value of all serges, bays, kersies, or any other sort of new drapery made of wool, or even mixed with wool, friezes only excepted. Here was the *regulation*, or rather, here was the “act of suicide,” which was insultingly denominated regulation, and which most effectually succeeded in its object, namely, the destruction of the woollen manufactories and manufactures of Ireland. But even this did not satisfy England. The English parliament passed an act, prohibiting the export, directly or indirectly, from Ireland, after the 24th of June, 1699, except to England or Wales.

Those infamous proceedings against our devoted country were accompanied by an act which prohibited to papists the profession of the law. The biographer of King William says, that “no transaction, during the reign of this monarch, so pressed upon his spirits, or so humbled his pride, as the resumption of the grants of the forfeited estates in Ireland by the English parliament.” Of this we can have little doubt; and it is to be remarked, we find no such opinion from King William’s biographer, when that monarch was setting his seal to the atrocious violations of law and justice, which we have already enumerated. The reason is obvious; King William was distressed that he could not parcel out Irish property to his Dutch and German adventurers, as he thought proper, and the pride of the monarch was wounded in the contest with the rapacity of his parliament. Ireland was too precious a field for the complete satiety of the English plunderer; and therefore Mr O’Connor

may here say, that William was forced to give up all his old loving and affectionate Dutch auxiliaries. It is said, that the violence done to the king's feelings by this act of the British parliament, made an impression on his mind and spirits from which he never rallied to the hour of his death. Much has been said of the spirit of toleration which governed the conduct and characterised the disposition of King William. We shall put the legislative acts of his reign against the conjectures or the assertions of his panegyrists. We shall open the Irish statute book, where every Irishman may read the character of this monarch of "immortal memory" written in the blood of our country. We should therefore consider his Irish admirers as the enemies of Ireland, and estimate their abhorrence of every liberal and enlightened principle in proportion to the degree of enthusiasm with which they revive the memory of King William, when considered as monarch of Ireland. As the indefatigable opponent of foreign despotism, we will join in general admiration of William's memory, but as the sovereign of our country, whose rights, civil and religious, he basely trampled on, after giving his solemn pledge to support and protect them, we must, in common with nineteen-twentieths of our country, lament that he ever existed.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

ANNE.

A. D. 1702. THE reader of the preceding reign would be inclined to conclude, that sufficient zeal had been manifested by the advocates of what was now denominated “protestant ascendancy,” to destroy the religion and violate the rights, as well as insult the feelings, of their catholic countrymen. The pages which are to follow, will display the eccentric ingenuity of malice and cowardice—of malice to torture, and cowardice to triumph over an innocent and unoffending nation, which had won, by the sacrifice of its best blood, the enjoyment of those privileges that the confiscating spirit of monopoly had dared to withhold. He who is acquainted with the splendid events which distinguished the reign of Anne—who has followed the rapid and astonishing progress of English arms, under the directing genius of Marlborough—who has stopped to reflect on that constellation of talent

and learning which illuminated the Augustan period of British history, will turn with wonder and astonishment from the vandal scene of infamous oppression under which our people were then doomed to suffer. He will no longer wonder at the feeling which prompts the honest Irish heart to repine at the fluctuation of England's fortune; nor will he in future join in that hypocritical exultation which the sycophants of power would pretend to feel at the victories and glory of the nation who persecutes them. There can be no better evidence of the successful debasement of the public mind by the perpetual infliction of ignominy, than the hollow and affected loyalty which too often distinguished the class of the unprivileged Irish, who were nearest to the seat of power; whose humiliation was conspicuous in proportion to their rank and fortune among their oppressed fellow citizens; who fawned, and flattered, and professed, though the public eye turned from the scene with indignation, and talked of loyalty, and content, and satisfaction, under the chains whose clanking still rung in the ear of every Irishman. Nothing can be more contemptible, nor more destructive to the fair honest claims of the people, than this aristocratic insincerity, which Ireland too often witnesses. The government of the country are deceived by an appearance of attachment and of loyalty, where such feeling neither can nor ought to exist. The people are abused by the specious display of a spirit which only covers the wound that ought to be probed and examined. The catholic aristocrat, who talked of

his loyalty under the laws of William or of Anne, deceived the prince as well as the people. His hypocrisy was rewarded by additional degradation, and his exclamations of loyalty were answered by the ferocious denunciations of monopoly. The people, who reflected on the meanness of such duplicity, triumphed in the ignominious repulsion of the sycophant, and the pride of the monopolist was fed and nourished by the precious incense of his noble slave. We are now come to that period when the integrity of nations to each other was fully and unequivocally developed; when national liberality might have been practised with magnanimity; when England, if inclined to administer Ireland with justice, might have ruled with dignity and with safety; when the hostile arm was in the grave, and the susceptible and affectionate heart of Ireland could have been gained by kindness and protection; when England might boast of having reached the highest climax of human greatness; when she presented her firm and undaunted countenance, and shook to the foundation the only power which menaced the liberties of Europe; when every breeze which could disturb her prosperity was hushed to silence, and the mind of her monarch reposed in the victories which astonished and intimidated the world. This surely might have been the period of concession to Ireland; yet this was the period which England chose to select, when Ireland could be put to the torture with impunity; insulted for her unthinking confidence in a nation's honour, and stript of the last sad remnant of that covering which

sheltered her from the scorn and contempt of nations.

Let no Irishman ever forget that this proud day, when England raised her forehead to the skies, Ireland, bathed in tears, sunk in despondency to the earth, the sport of every fool, the subject of every ruffian hand to practise its tricks of torture, and the melancholy spectacle of a confiding, innocent and betrayed country. No wonder that the voice of every muse, on the sad subject of Ireland, should be that of sorrow and despair ; no wonder that the Irish harp should sound its deep and melancholy tone, when the sufferings of such a people are the subject of its strain. Our poetry and our music make their powerful appeals to the heart, and the dark mournful hue of oppression increases the interest, and adds to the beauties, of the finest productions of Irish genius. In the reign of William, the sword of oppression and violence was sometimes suspended. Unschooled in the arts of persecution, that illustrious monarch sometimes retreated from the task which national prejudice assigned him. He required some time to reconcile him to the work of intolerance, but was at length a successful pupil to the instructions of monopoly. But the reign we are now recording, commenced in despotism, and ended as it began. The oppressor is generally systematic in the work of torture ; he is delighted with the capabilities of suffering which his victim may possess, and if the latter can survive the experiment, he would prefer his gradual destruction to immediate annihilation. The laws

enacted in Ireland, under the parental protection of the “immortal William,” might have appeased the vengeance of monopoly, during the reign of that illustrious monarch; but succeeding tyrants of Ireland wanted some new wound with which they might feast their eyes, and the “good Queen Anne” most kindly consented to their gratification. The Irish monopolists imagined new danger to the constitution in church and state, and called for new powers to avert them. The catholic priest, though exiled from his country, still appeared formidable. Even the memory of his religious and moral example should be provided against, and the last mind which remained in the country, that might perhaps have retained a single principle which the catholic priest had planted, must be banished, before the constitution in church and state could be considered secure against its enemies. Were the catholics, or, in other words, were the people of Ireland guilty of any acts which could have exasperated the hand of power? Were they inclined to rebel against this tyranny? No; history says they were not; and the observation of mankind attests, that the sanguinary code of Anne would never have been enacted—that no government would have so dared to violate the rights of human nature, if a spirit had existed in the people or their leaders, which would have had the courage to resist the oppression.

England found Ireland prostrate, and she trampled on her. Had even a breathing of indignation been perceived, that same England would not have

dared to make the experiment. Let it be a lesson to the future men of our country; let them meet the approaches of tyranny with a steady and determined tone, or the same scenes may again be acted, which disgrace the pages of our history at the commencement of the eighteenth century. The constitution has now armed the people of Ireland with the strong and irresistible power of public remonstrance. Let that remonstrance be as firm as the grievance of which it complains is severe; and though the retreat of intolerance may be slow, yet the light of reason and christianity will illuminate the progress of the petitioner.

It is painful to recall the human mind to the contemplation of those laws which were conceived by the malignant genius of monopoly; for the interest of mankind it would perhaps be better to bury these examples of public infamy, the very mention of which must more or less contribute to the degradation of public morals; but the duties of the historian silence the voice of the philanthropist; and the loathing narration of every villany, as well as the record of every virtue, are equally the labours and the office of impartial history.

We have already detailed the splendid labours of King William “of immortal memory,” against this country. It was he who gave the first grand and master-stroke,—it was he who first plundered the mind of Ireland,—it was he who legalized national ignorance and national immorality. He banished the instructor of youth, and the preacher of religion,—he exposed the people to the arms of the

midnight robber,—he forbade the Irish catholic the possession or the use of arms,—he established a never-failing source of perpetual discord and suspicion among the different sects of Christians,—he prevented intermarriage between the protestant and catholic,—and threw up a perpetual bar to the concord or happiness of the nation. But that law which the “immortal king” thought proper, in his affection for Ireland, to give his consent to, and which was the natural prelude to all the oppression which followed, was that with which he commenced his reign, namely, * the act which excluded the

* Among the many productions which the genius and spirit of the 19th century has produced, on the melancholy subject of the sufferings of the Irish catholics, there is none perhaps which merits so high a place in the estimation of every honest and enlightened mind, as that work which its distinguished author has styled, “A Statement of the Penal Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland,” Were we in want of a measure of the value of this performance, we should immediately find it in the efforts of the enemies of public liberty, to diminish its effects by the combined struggles of power, corruption, and sophistry. It would indeed be a work of supererogation to panegyryze a performance which the splendid eloquence of Bushe has already immortalized. Extorting praises from its enemies, what must be the admiration of its friends? What must be the strength of that arm under which the whole embattled host of the British government in Ireland is obliged to crouch? What must be the strength of that reasoning, which makes even intolerance tremble? and when, in order to be heard with temper, before no very friendly tribunal, the prosecutor is obliged to acknowledge the great pretensions of the man whose book he would endeavour to stigmatize? Ireland smiles at all this theatrical tumbling in the court: she admires the brilliancy of those powers which dazzle, even on the side of falsehood, but retires from the exhibition with contempt for the

catholics of Ireland from seats in the legislature, by imposing on them the necessity of taking those oaths which amounted to a renunciation of their religion. King William, of immortal memory, did all this; yet the corporations and the aldermen of Ireland will wonder that the Irish catholic should be insulted by the annual celebration of his memory.

judgment which could waste its time in an idle struggle with reason, justice and truth. Public fame has attributed to Counsellor Scully, a distinguished member of the Catholic Board, the execution of this most useful and necessary work to his country. Malignity would not be content unless the wreath, which Ireland would weave round the brow of its author, was rendered doubly precious by its calumny. His enemies have exhausted their fancy and their folly. Sophistry lies wearied with its unprofitable struggles; and the able expositor of the indignities under which his country suffers in the beginning of the nineteenth century, is enthroned on the ruins of his enemies. This book, of course, is sought for by every mind: it is to be found in every library; and promises, by the clearness and candour of its reasoning, to be the leading light to our legislators in their progress to the temple of justice. We have thus gratified our feelings in bearing our homage to the labours of our celebrated countryman. We hope that into whatever hands this compendium may fall, the observations we have made will induce them to read a work, which should be admired by the friends, because it has been persecuted by the enemies of Irish liberty.

Having said so much of the author, and of the great value of the production, we shall now take from his pages that passage which induced us to call the reader's attention to him. Speaking of the injuries which must flow to the catholic body, by their exclusion from the legislature, the author of the "Statement" makes the following unanswerable observations:

"On the other hand, were catholics eligible to seats in the legislature; were there only ten catholics in the upper house,

The “good Queen Anne” endeavoured to exceed his majesty in her affection for her Irish subjects. She therefore commenced her administration of Ireland with a perfidious violation of every law, divine and human. Having had the unprincipled

and twenty in the lower house, (which is a profitable estimate for the first ten years), how many mischiefs and errors might be avoided, how many useful projects framed and accomplished. No protestant member, however upright and enlightened, can be expected by the catholics to be constantly prepared to protect their property from unequal impost in parliament, their rights from aggression, their fame from calumny, or their religion from gross misrepresentation. Catholic members, and they alone, would prove competent to those tasks. A member of this description, duly qualified, speaking upon the affairs, complaints and interests of his own community, could readily falsify the fabricated tale, refute the sophistical objection, unravel the apparent difficulty, state the true extent of what is desired, what is practicable. Such a catholic, actually knowing the condition of his fellow-sufferers, could put down a calumny in the instant of its utterance, and this not merely by contradicting, but by referring with promptitude to existing documents, facts, and authorities; by quoting time, place, and circumstance, and bringing within the immediate view of the house and the public, the necessary materials of refutation.”

“Finally,” says this enlightened writer, “the statesman may truly observe of this exclusion of the catholics from both houses of the legislature, ‘Continue this exclusion of the catholics, and the removal of all the other grievances will be of little value, and of no permanent security to the catholics, or to the empire.—Remove the exclusion, and other grievances cannot long survive.’”

Such, no doubt, is the importance of a seat in the legislative assembly: and King William, “of immortal memory,” was so sensible of this, that he commenced his war against the Irish catholic, by plundering him of this great and paramount privilege.

courage to break the solemn obligations into which the English nation had entered with Ireland, when the latter agreed to lay down her arms at Limerick, the English government could, with less difficulty, proceed to the commission of every outrage which its avarice, or its spirit of despotism, might chance to suggest. Queen Anne introduced her ferocious system of government in Ireland, by an act which went to expel the inhabitants of Ireland from the lands of their fathers. She enacted, that no catholic should have the power of purchasing any part of the forfeited lands; and that all leases which might have been made of such lands, shall be annulled, except those leases which might have been made to the poor cottagers of two acres; thus giving to the Irish such privileges as might best secure their vassalage to their task-masters. “A law so barbarous,” says Mr O’Connor, “has no parallel in the records of nations;” yet the genius of the “good Queen Anne” could surpass the barbarity, as we shall see hereafter. No lapse of time could purge the catholic of the hideous crime of fidelity to his religion, and attachment to his country. Never could he have the power, by the honourable labours of industry, of recovering those lands which were forfeited by the intemperate spirit of his fathers. He should consent to abandon every principle of honour and morality, before he could be qualified to be received into the bosom of the glorious constitution. Such an act might have for some time satisfied the craving appetite of rapacity; but so long as the victim had life, so long had the oppressor

a propensity to indulge in cruelty. The act, therefore, which in its vicious perfection seems to reach the very summit of monopolizing malignity, is the act “for preventing the further growth of popery,” by which the presbyterian and the catholic were equally levelled to the ground; in which the advocates of the church took their merciless vengeance on their old republican persecutors, whose industry and genius were then raising the north of Ireland into wealth, numbers, and consequence. This wealth might have circulated among the catholics of the west and the south; and the spirit of political liberty, which ever found an asylum in the bosom of the presbyterian, might have communicated its contagion to the almost extinguished embers of catholic patriotism. The bill above-mentioned, so celebrated for its infamy, went to the total expulsion of the catholics from any right or property in land. It disabled them from purchasing either lands or tenements, or taking by inheritance, devise, or gift, any lands in the hands of protestants; making all estates which they might then hold, descendable by gavelkind, except in case of the conformity of the eldest son, rendering the father a mere tenant for life, depriving him of the power of alienating, mortgaging, or encumbering, even for the support or the advancement of younger children, except under the control and discretion of the chancellor.” Had the “good Queen Anne” and her Irish monopolists passed an act, which would have banished the entire catholic population of Ireland to some foreign, though hospitable country, humanity

might have had some consolation on which it might have reposed. But this would not have been the complete and finished work of despotism, which the advocates of the free constitution of England so fondly meditated in Ireland. The catholic slave would no longer have ministered to the pastime of his task-master,—the torture would have been removed,—and the groans of a suffering, though unoffending people, would have no longer soothed their tyrants to the sweet sleep of peace and security. The catholic historians have echoed the hypocrisy of protestant writers, in praising the loyalty of the Irish nation, while this work of legal slaughter was carrying on. Far be it from us to praise that submission which the tyrant and the hypocrite will ever dignify with the name of loyalty. We would have felt pleasure in recording the struggle of a brave nation with their cowardly and unprincipled tyrants, and have been consoled by the appeals of our oppressed country to the venerated shades of her O'Moore and O'Neil. What Englishman, who has reflected on the struggles of his ancestors, and who is now reaping the harvest which was sowed by the hand of freedom, must not have rejoiced if Ireland had risen like a giant, and shook off the contemptible tyranny which thus dared to oppress her? We have said that this grand desolating act for “preventing the further growth of popery,” was alike aimed at the presbyterian as the catholic. It was not so much the offspring of sectarian bigotry as national jealousy and tyranny;—it was not so much the act of a protestant as the act of a na-

tion,—it was not to put down the catholic,—it was to extinguish our country, and render, in future, the protestants, catholics, and presbyterians of Ireland, the humble vassals, the hewers of wood and drawers of water to their enlightened and liberal sister country. For this purpose the English tory government introduced a provision into the act, by which all persons in Ireland were rendered incapable of any employment under the crown, or of being magistrates in any city, who should not, agreeably to the test act, receive the sacrament according to the usage of the church of England, thus calling upon the presbyterian to renounce his religion if he wished to enjoy the protection or the privileges of the constitution.

The resistance made by the Irish presbyterian to the introduction of such a provision, into an act which he had conceived was solely levelled against his catholic countrymen, should have been to the future presbyterian of Ireland a fruitful source of instruction on the folly, as well as the malignity, of religious persecution. The anxiety of the English government to depress the catholic, should have demonstrated to the reflecting presbyterian, that catholic subjugation must necessarily lead to the subjugation of their common country; and that the object of England could have been nothing less than the complete conquest of Irish freedom. The reader will observe how slow is the progress of that tolerating spirit which, in his own days, distinguishes the presbyterians; how little like Irishmen, and how much like a sect, they gave their oppo-

sition to this bold effort of the English government against their civil and religious liberties. In their remonstrance to parliament they pass by their catholic sufferer, and complain, in the piteous tone of disappointment, that they, the presbyterians, who had distinguished themselves so long as the persecutors of the catholic religion, should be now assailed by that hand which should have been the first to protect them.

The philosopher smiles at the little contracted ground of defence which is here taken, and warmly hails the arrival of that day which exhibits the Irish presbyterian maintaining his own rights by his enlightened and liberal advocacy of the rights of his catholic countryman. In their petition to the Irish commons they complained, "that, to their great surprise and disappointment, they found a clause inserted in 'the act to prevent the further growth of popery,' which had not its rise in that honourable house, whereby they were disabled from executing any public trust, for the service of his majesty, the protestant religion, or their country, unless, contrary to their consciences, they should receive the Lord's supper according to the rites and usages of the established church." "This clause," says Dr Curry, "of which the presbyterians so bitterly complained, has since been called the 'sacramental test,' then first imposed on the dissenters of Ireland, whose zeal," says our honest countryman, "against the catholic, was so credulously blind at that juncture, that upon a promise given them of having it repealed on the first op-

portunity, they readily concurred in passing, together with the clauses against the catholics, that mortifying one against themselves." Thus was the presbyterian, in the reign of Queen Anne, sacrificed to his own prejudice against his catholic countrymen; and the liberty of our country voluntarily offered up on the altar of bigotry. For a long time the presbyterian was doomed to smart under his folly. The house of Brunswick, however, has connived at the relaxation of the penalty; and the enlightened spirit of toleration which distinguishes the age we now live in, has given to that connivance all the force of an actual repeal. In vain did the principal catholics of Ireland petition against this infamous violation of the faith of nations. The eloquence of Sir Theobald Butler and Anthony Malone, made their fruitless appeal to the reason and sensibility of the lords and commons of Ireland. Such a tribunal was deaf to the voice of pity, of reason and truth; "and thus, on the 7th March, 1704," says Dr Curry, "the royal assent was given to an act, which, besides its being a violation of national faith, has been hitherto productive of every species of private, as well as public injury, by stripping men of their property for not parting with their integrity; by fining and imprisoning them for conscientious dissent from settled forms of worship, or holding tenets merely spiritual, and totally foreign from any interference with the civil government of the state: so that our courts of justice and equity resembled, in these respects, the Roman tribunal punishing the primitive

Christians, for not disavowing the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and embracing that of human institution." It is not easily credited by the liberal understanding of the present age, that any assembly of human beings, possessing the light and charity of Christianity, could have been so barbarized by bigotry and avarice, as the lords and commons of Ireland were, in the reign we are now recording; or that man should have sunk so low from the proud characteristic of his nature, as to wreath the laurel around the brow of that wretch, whom mankind have ever devoted to the pillory or the scaffold! It will not be credited, that the Irish legislature should have conferred dignities and honours on the common informer; and that a solemn resolution can now be found on its journals, to the following effect, "that the prosecuting and informing against papists, was an honourable service to the government of Ireland." The same rewards that civilized society are in the practice of offering for the apprehension of the most abandoned members of the community, the robber, or the murderer, were, in the Augustan age of Queen Anne, offered by the Irish legislature, for the apprehension of the Roman catholic clergy of Ireland. The price of the archbishop's or the bishop's head was L.50, and that of the regular and secular clergyman, was estimated so low as L.20. Thus did the legislature provide for the religion and the morals of Ireland. Yet still the work of desolation was not complete: Irish poor, distinguished as much by the persecution under which they suffered, as by the elastic power

with which their acute and sagacious understandings repelled the struggles of despotism, were found in the ditches and fields of their beloved country, imbibing that instruction which the unconquered courage of their clergy was daily communicating. The catholic priest was pursued even to this humble refuge. The Irish peasant would be a formidable personage, were he suffered to arm himself in his wilderness, with the terrific weapons which he could draw from the half understood writings of Greece and Rome. The schoolmaster, however humble his acquirements, was deemed a furious enemy to the constitution in church and state, and even him, the guardian genius of Queen Anne's government pursued with all its terrors. A reward, therefore, of L.10, was held out for the discovery and conviction of every catholic schoolmaster, usher, or private tutor.

The calamities which must necessarily flow from such infernal legislation, poured abundantly rapid upon the unfortunate inhabitants of our country. Their task-masters often felt and experienced the recoil of their own barbarous folly, because they robbed the hands which might have enriched themselves. The furious and insatiable spirit of monopoly preferred the government of a desert to that of a happy and contented people; and the constitution in church and state was pronounced secure against its enemies, when the people of Ireland were stripped of every privilege and every right which separates humanity from the brute creation. Mr Matthew O'Connor has summed up the effects

of the ferocious law of Queen Anne, in a strong and comprehensive description, creditable to the sensibility which dictated it, and worthy of the spirit of his ancient and respected family. "The immediate effect of this law," he writes, "was the emigration of vast numbers of the inhabitants, who sought shelter in distant exile, and found a refuge in the armies of the catholic powers of the continent. The sentiment of persecution was completed by this act, and never was system attended with more effectual success; private manners were debauched, public sentiment debased, and every faculty of the mind enervated. The contrast of the sudden and certain acquisition of landed property by the obvious and easy method of discovery, with the slow and uncertain acquirement of wealth by the laborious pursuits of industry, nourished the principle of dishonesty, and a total disregard of shame and infamy. The rewards of conformity cherished the seeds of rebellion in the minds of children against parents, and of distrust in the minds of parents against children. The penalties attached to an open and conscientious discharge of religious duties, fomented dissimulation and hypocrisy. Habits of oppression, and the exercise of lawless power, debased the minds of the upper classes from a love of country, of fame, and glory, to mean servility to the court, and a tame acquiescence in the stern mandates of English supremacy. The loss of rights and property extinguished every spark of patriotism, and infused the spiritless indifference of submissive poverty into the great mass

of the people, who barely existed in their native soil, strangers to its natural blessings, the patient victims of its wrongs, the insensible spectators of its ruin. Here they vegetated on the potatoe root, decayed in the prime of life, destitute of solid nourishment, and sinking to untimely graves; their vigour prematurely exhausted by hard labour, and the spark of life at last extinguished by famine."

It is perhaps as unprofitable to the reader as it is painful to the writer, to read the vile and profligate system of legislation which blackened the reign of Queen Anne in this country; which must excite as much astonishment as sorrow, in the bosom of the philosopher, when he reflects how little the human mind had advanced in the useful and efficient government of mankind; and how strongly the barbarities of Queen Anne's laws, after an interval of seventeen hundred years, resembled the remorseless persecutions of paganism against the mild and charitable religion of Christianity. It is not easy to assign any rational grounds for the devastating laws which were enacted against the catholics of Ireland. The lust of torture, which seems to be the natural offspring of monopoly, is the only incentive which posterity can assign for the barbarities so long practised against our unoffending countrymen.

Dr Curry has collected the reasons which the despots of Ireland sometimes gave for their persecution of the human mind. This able and honest man, whose labours have so powerfully contributed to rescue the millions that are yet unborn, from the

most wretched degradation, has the following admirable observations on the effects of those laws which the men, who enacted them, most piously thought would have extirpated the religion, as well as the property, of the catholic. The readers of this compendium will read with attention the reflections of one of the best Irishmen our country ever gave birth to ; the legislator will acknowledge the force of his deductions ; and the gratitude of Ireland will rejoice, in beholding the treasures of such a book as Dr Curry's circulating at a cheap and convenient rate, in every corner of the empire.

“ Two plausible reasons,” writes Dr Curry, “ have been commonly assigned for the framing and continuing of these laws. First, their tendency to bring the catholics of this kingdom to conformity in religion and loyalty with their protestant fellow-subjects ; and next, their aptitude to weaken and impoverish such of them as prove refractory, in these respects, to such a degree as to render both them and their posterity utterly incapable of giving any future disturbance to this government. But is it not notorious that hypocrisy, and disaffection to the established religion and government, are the natural and constant effects of such forced conversions ? And even supposing that converts thus made, might at length become good and loyal subjects, is evil to be done that good may arise therefrom, in this one instance, when both reason and religion prohibit and condemn it in every other ? On the other hand, does not the enacting such predatory laws against these people, without their being even accused of

any civil crime, and merely to weaken and impoverish them, suggest to their mind something like the policy of an highwayman in putting those he has robbed to death, but if they were suffered to survive their losses, they might chance to discover and prosecute him for the robbery.

“ The last of the common objections to the relaxation of those laws, which I shall consider, (and it is the only remaining objection that deserves to be considered), is, that the spirit of persecution is peculiar and essential to the Roman catholic religion; and therefore that its professors ought, in good policy, to be always kept under, and in an absolute incapacity to exert it. But this objection confutes itself. It supposes that men may be justified in actually wronging and persecuting others, for no other reason but merely to prevent those others from ever having the power (however remote and improbable) to injure and persecute them. The Roman catholics wish not for a power to persecute. They only implore the justice and mercy of the legislature to relieve them from persecution. But how can the spirit of persecution be deemed peculiar to Roman catholics, when it is notorious that those very accusers, of every denomination, persecute both them and one another whenever they have the power and opportunity of doing it? That such a spirit is far from being essential to their religion, however it may have unhappily possessed some of its bigotted members, (and what sect or communion of Christians is free from such members?) is manifest from hence, that all their ablest and most re-

spectable divines, and in particular their last pope, (who surely must be supposed to have known the essentials of his religion), condemn and renounce it as unchristian and inhuman. ‘The great misfortune in this case,’ says the eminently learned and liberal prelate, Ganganelli, ‘is, that some people confound religion with her ministers, and make her responsible for their faults. It never was religion, but false zeal pretending to her, that seized fire and sword to compel heretics to abjure their errors, and Jews to become Christians. And what is more dreadful than to see good men fall victims to a zeal displeasing in the sight of God, and condemned by the church, as equally hurtful to religion and the rights of society? The example of Jesus Christ, who, during his residence on earth, bore patiently with the Sadducees and Samaritans, (the infidels and schismatics of those times) oblige us to support our brethren, of whatever communion they may be; to live peaceably with them; and not to torment them on account of any system of belief which they may have adopted. The power of the church is purely spiritual; our blessed Saviour himself, when he prayed for his executioners, taught us how his cause is to be avenged. Had the ministers of the gospel been always careful to follow that divine model, the enemies of Christianity would not have been able to bring against it the unjust reproach of favouring persecution. The catholic church always disavowed those impetuous men, who, stirred up by an indiscreet zeal, treat those who go astray with asperity; and its most holy bishops at all times so-

licited the pardon of the apostles, desiring only their conversion. Men, therefore, ought not to impute to the church those excesses, of which history has preserved the memory, and which are repugnant to the maxims of the gospel.'”

Such are the opinions of Ganganelli on the duties of the catholic priest; and such is the vindication which the liberal and enlightened mind of this great man makes for those pious excesses into which weak minds have been driven by the intoxicating spirit of fanaticism. What sect of Christians may not now be charged with the idle display of cruel zeal which sometimes distinguished the catholic church? What sect of Christians is not able to count an equal number of enormities in the propagation of their respective creeds? Can the protestant say that the records of his sect are unstained with the blood of humanity? Can he not boast of a rivalry in the enthusiasm of his zeal for his opinions with the inquisition, the memory of whose atrocities is so odious to every mind of liberal and enlightened feelings? But as the good Ganganelli writes, the crimes of the inquisition no more proceeded from the catholic religion than the protestant persecutions of Queen Anne proceeded from the religion of the protestant. The avarice of monopoly made its anxiety for the protestant religion a pretext, to cover and conceal the baseness of its views. The catholic inquisition put on the garb of the priest, when it was violating the divine and beneficent principles of Christianity. Toleration, the great leading principle of every wise govern-

ment, has at length deprived the bigot of the opportunity of martyrdom : he now courts the faggot or the scaffold in vain : he struggles to provoke persecution, and languishes and decays under the philosophic indifference with which he is treated.

The persecuting laws of Queen Anne demonstrate the folly of forcing the human conscience. Pride, principle, every passion of our nature, confederated against the impudent dictation of power on subjects, which no human authority should dare to control. The furious spirit of the laws was communicated to all the subordinate and humble instruments of government. The Castle gave the word to the police office ; and the ignorant alderman administered his little government of the parish with all the insolence of the highest authority. Ireland was at this period so insignificant a portion of the empire, and so low in the estimation of its rulers, that the representative of majesty considered it a great act of condescension and favour to pay his visit every second, and sometimes every third year. The regulation of Ireland was entrusted, in the interim, to some hot-headed bigots, or some trading speculators on the misfortunes and sufferings of the Irish people, under the denomination of lords justices. Those governors generally estimated their loyalty to their king by the quantity of torture they inflicted on their fellow-subjects : their principal duty was marshalling the house of lords and commons, and multiplying by corruption the number of Ireland's oppressors.

The genius of legislation had nearly completed

its work of national destruction. The executioner who would best enforce the sanguinary statute, was now sought for, to put the infamous theory into more infamous practice. Sometimes the malignity of the law was counteracted by the humanity of the viceroy. The English parliament, however, in 1709, produced a nobleman, fitted by his mind and his heart to become the instrument of the most abandoned system. The Earl Wharton, whose infamy has been immortalized by Swift, was considered the most likely personage, whom no compunctious visitings of nature would ever prompt to withhold the lash, or suspend the torture. His talents being always tributary to his vices, he was as formidable in his contrivance of ruin, as he was cruel in the execution. "He had," says Swift, "imbibed his father's principles in government; he was a rigid presbyterian; but dropped his religion, and took up no other in its stead; excepting that circumstance, he was a firm presbyterian. He contracted such large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere justice, to leave Ireland at his mercy, where he had only time to set himself right. He is very useful in parliament, being a ready speaker, and content to employ this gift upon such occasions, where those who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modesty, are ashamed to appear. The Earl of Wharton sunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom, and hath raised it by going far in the ruin of another. His administration of Ireland was looked upon as a sufficient ground to impeach him at last for high crimes and

misdemeanours ; yet he has gained by the government of that kingdom, under two years, L.45,000, by the most favourable computation, half in the *regular* way, and half in the *prudential*."

The reader may estimate the character of the house of commons at this disastrous period, by the following panegyric on one of the most profligate men by whom a nation was ever governed : " They gratefully acknowledged her majesty's more particular care of them, in appointing his excellency their chief governor, whose equal and impartial administration of justice gave them just reason to hope, and earnestly wish his long continuance in the government."

This accomplished state plunderer was admirably dexterous in holding out professions which he determined to break. He flattered and deceived the dissenter ; he was only candid to the catholic, whom he was perpetually torturing. Though taken from the bosom of the dissenters, and known to be in his private capacity anxious to promote their views, this able task-master, Wharton, would never hesitate to minister to the plans of their oppressors, and, for the promotion of his personal fortunes, sacrifice his favourite religion and its followers.

Nothing perhaps can excite the indignation of the Irish nation so much as the history of those conflicts which took place at this period, between the advocates of prerogative and the advocates of liberty. It is painful to see a little aristocracy, of a particular sect, engaged in contests on the free principles of the revolution, as established in 1691,

when the people of Ireland stood behind their chairs, the insulted spectators of a dispute in which both parties agreed only in one point, namely, the oppression and the suffering of the great majority of the people. At this period the Irish lords and the Irish commons were appealing against each other to the crown, as their common umpire. The most infamous aristocracy which ever disgraced the annals of a country, were heard exclaiming against the abuses of power, the encroachments of prerogative, and the violation of the rights of man. The principles of Locke were the theme of *their* panegyric, who were exercising every oppression over the great majority of the Irish nation; and the public understanding was mocked and insulted by the idle display of all the forms of a free constitution. The tory lords and the whig commons were daily disputing for pre-eminence; and while each laid claim to superior confidence from the crown, both agreed in the common office of multiplying the mortifications of their catholic fellow-subjects. That a parliament composed of such materials, and acting so perpetually in contempt of public opinion, should be themselves dispersed in turn by a superior power, will be easily conceived by any reflecting mind. The Irish parliament, during the reign of Queen Anne, was humbled so low in the estimation of the sister country, that the parliament of the latter did not hesitate to assume the right of legislating for Ireland, and of casting off an odious faction which at once disgusted by their insolence and their oppression. Indeed the English parlia-

ment, in all the more important considerations which affected the empire, dictated the law to Ireland, as if no Irish parliament existed. They directed the sale of the forfeited estates, and prohibited catholics from being the purchasers. They voided all leases made to catholics. They permitted Ireland to export linen to the plantations, and appointed the town of Ross, in the county of Wexford, the port for exporting wool from Ireland to England. Sir William Wyndham, an able and distinguished champion of the tories, brought a bill into the house of commons in 1712, denominated the schism bill, the object of which was to extinguish the power of the whigs; and the reader will find in the protest entered on the journals of the lords, by the whigs of that house, how ferocious the spirit of persecution against the unhappy catholic must have been, when the principal reason advanced by the defeated whig, was the possibility of being deprived of the power of co-operating effectually with his protestant countryman in keeping down the catholic, who was then an object of commiseration rather than resentment. This protest demonstrates the fanatical barbarity with which this unfortunate country was pursued by the most enlightened among the English nation—by the advocates of the free and enlightened principles of the revolution, and the boasted champions of civil and religious liberty. The whig lords protested against that part of the schism bill which relates to Ireland, in the following benevolent and christian language: “The miseries we apprehend here, (in England), are great-

ly enhanced by extending this bill to Ireland, where the consequences of it may be fatal ; for since the number of catholics in that kingdom far exceeds the protestants of all denominations together ; and that the dissenters are to be treated as enemies, or at least as persons dangerous to the church and state, who have always in all times joined, and still would join, with the members of that church, against the common enemy of their religion ; and since the army there is very much reduced, the protestants, thus unnecessarily divided, seem to us to be exposed to the danger of another massacre, and the protestant religion in danger of being extirpated."

The reader will not wonder that the monopolists who ruled in Ireland, and who were the mere echoes of the whigs and tories of England, should have pursued the Irish catholic with such implacable malignity. The Cromwellians of 1645 were not more zealous in their denunciations against the catholic than the whigs and tories in the reign we are now recording. In Ireland the whigs and tories played their little parts in emulation of their English masters. The Irish lords and commons were in perpetual conflict ; the former in support of tory principles—the latter, of whig. The causes of difference were scarcely ever found out of the narrow circle of monopoly. The people at large were uninterested in the result of a combat which ended in the overthrow of some powerful individual of either party. For instance, the whigs of the commons made furious war against Sir Constantine Phibs, the tory chancellor of Ireland. Backed by

the queen, the chancellor set his enemies at defiance ; and the oppressed portion of the community enjoyed the defeat of the whigs, and their humiliation under the superior power of their tory competitors.

It is impossible to reflect on the events of a reign so calamitous to Ireland, without indulging at the same instant in the consolation that all this shocking and atrocious violation of human right which we have witnessed, is, in the nineteenth century, the object of every man's disgust or indignation ; that the protestant and the presbyterian of the present day, who peruse the sanguinary records which contain the act of their ancestors, are equally anxious to bury them in everlasting oblivion : that the spirit of monopoly, which would grasp at more than it could enjoy, has given way to the mild and Christian principle which sees the greatest advantage in the communication of mutual protection, and the greatest happiness in the promotion of mutual harmony : that the British government, which so long pursued the disastrous and unprofitable policy of dividing Ireland, in order the more effectually to controul it, is disposed to surrender this contemptible principle to the more enlarged and productive principle of equal protection and equal privilege : that such a change should have taken place, and now promises to be the possession of the people who read this compendium, is a cheering subject of congratulation, after all the blood and havoc through which we have waded.

We have endeavoured, in this brief chronicle of

Ireland's story, to embrace all the great and leading facts which calumny and misrepresentation have so often and so successfully distorted ; which have been the subject of so much reproach, and so much exasperation ; which have been the natural offspring of bad government, and the natural resource of a persecuted nation. We have endeavoured to vindicate a brave people, in perpetual conflict for its civil and religious liberties, against the black and infamous charges which the hired libeller has elaborately brought against them. We have endeavoured to demonstrate to the English reader, that when Ireland drew the sword of rebellion, she was but following the feelings of human nature, which prompted her to repel the violator of her rights : that her rebellions against England were the necessary result of her sufferings, and the feeble, though disastrous struggles of a people, who, under a mild and protecting government, would have contributed to its wealth, its power, and its greatness.

The sword of intolerance has at length been sheathed ;—the bigotry of the sectarian has at length been discouraged ; the human mind can now give full rein to its powers with impunity. Uncontrolled by the dictation of a supposed infallibility, every man is suffered to adore his Creator as his conscience directs him ; and the profession of a particular creed of Christianity has *almost* ceased to be a measure of Irish loyalty. The protestant, the presbyterian and the catholic, respect each other's conscientious attachment to the religion of their fathers. The legislator can now discover no cause

for the loyalty of the subject so strong as the possession of civil and religious liberty. He reads the cruelties of intolerance, in order to avoid their repetition ; and draws from the follies of his ancestors the wisest and most beneficial lessons of instruction.

We took up our pen with an ardent wish to avenge the insults offered to the character and honour of our country. If the reader shall be of opinion that we have performed the task with zeal and with firmness, we shall triumph in the contemplation of our labours, and congratulate our countrymen on the benefits which may possibly result from them. We have called the Irish reader to the consideration of those causes which were the fruitful sources of Irish misfortune ; we have endeavoured to point out to the future politician of our country, the errors of those who are in the tomb ; or, as Edmund Burke philosophically observes, we have written under the impression that “ NO PEOPLE WILL LOOK FORWARD TO POSTERITY, WHO DO NOT OFTEN LOOK BACKWARD TO THEIR ANCESTORS.”

THE END.

APPENDIX.

A Catalogue of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the kingdom of Ireland, at the sitting of the Irish parliament, including those created by the late King James II. after his abdication, according to their respective precedencies, in the year 1689, in which those that were formerly attainted, and those that sat, are distinguished.

Note—All that were attainted had outlawries reversed.

SIR Alexander Fitton, Kt. Lord Chancellor.—Sat.

Dr Michael Boyle, Lord Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland.

Dr Francis March, Archbishop of Dublin.

Vacant ——— Archbishop of Cashel.

Dr John Vessey, Archbishop of Tuam.

Richard Earl of Cork, Lord Treasurer.

DUKES.

James Butler, Duke of Ormond.

Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnel.

EARLS.

Prot. Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare.

Cath. O'Bryan, Earl of Thomond.

Cath. Burke, Earl of Clanrickard.

Cath. Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven.

- Prot. Boyle, Earl of Cork.
 Cath. MacDonnel, Earl of Antrim.——Sat.
 Cath. Nugent, Earl of Westmeath.—Sat, (under age, the right Earl being a Clergyman.)
 Prot. Ridgway, Earl of Londonderry.
 Prot. Fielding, Earl of Desmond.
 Prot. Brabazon, Earl of Meath.
 Prot. Dillon, Earl of Roscommon.
 Prot. Barry, Earl of Barrymore.——Sat.
 Prot. Vaughan, Earl of Carbury.
 Cath. Plunket, Earl of Fingal. Attainted (a Minor.)
 Prot. Chichester, Earl of Donegal.
 Prot. Lambert, Earl of Cavan.
 Prot. O'Brian, Earl of Inchiquin.
 Cath. MacCartney, Earl Clancarty.—Sat, (under age, attainted, but restored by a clause in the act.)
 Prot. Boyle, Earl of Orrery.
 Prot. Coote, Earl of Monrath,
 Prot. Moore, Earl of Drogheda.
 Prot. Talbot, Earl of Waterford and Wexford.
 Prot. Montgomery, Earl of Mount-Alexander.
 Cath. Palmer, Earl of Castlemain.
 Cath. Taaffe, Earl of Carlingford.
 Cath. Power, Earl of Tyrone,——Sat, a Convert.
 Prot. Jones, Earl of Ranelagh.
 Prot. Angier, Earl of Longford. Sat.
 Prot. Forbes, Earl of Granard. Sat.
 Cath. Dungan, Earl of Limerick. Sat.
 Prot. Coote, Earl of Bellamont.

VISCOUNTS.

- Cath. Preston, Viscount Gormanstown. Attainted.
 Cath. Roch, Viscount Fermoy, Attainted.
 Cath. Butler, Viscount Mountgarret. Sat, Attainted.
 Prot. Villiers, Viscount Grandison.
 Prot. Annesly, Viscount Valentia.
 Cath. Dillon, Viscount Castlelogallen. Sat.
 Cath. Netterville, Viscount Dowth. Attainted.
 Prot. Loftus, Viscount Ely.

- Prot. Benmont, Viscount Swords.
Cath. Magennis, Viscount Iveagh. Sat, Attainted.
Prot. Needham, Viscount Kilmurry.
Cath. Sarsfield, Kilmallock.
Cath. Burke, Viscount Mayo.
Prot. Sanderson, Viscount Castletown.
Prot. Chaworth, Viscount Armagh.
Prot. Scudamore, Viscount Sligo.
Prot. Lumley, Viscount Waterford.
Prot. Smith, Viscount Strangford.
Prot. Wenman, Viscount Tuam.
Prot. Molyneux, Viscount Maryborough.
Cath. Fairfax, Viscount Emmely.
Cath. Butler, Viscount Ikerin. Attainted, (a Minor.)
Prot. Fitzwilliam, Viscount Merryon.
Cath. O'Dempsey, Viscount Glanmaleira. Sat.
Prot. Cokain, Viscount Cullen.
Prot. Tracy, Viscount Rathcool.
Cath. Smith, Viscount Carrington of Barrefore.
Prot. Bulkley, Viscount Cashell.
Cath. Butler, Viscount Galmoy. Attainted.
Cath. Barnwall, Viscount Kingsland.
Prot. Boyle, Viscount Shannon.
Prot. Skiffington, Viscount Massareene.
Prot. Chalmondy, Viscount Kells.
Prot. Franshaw, Viscount Dromore.
Cath. O'Brian, Viscount Clare.
Prot. Trevor, Viscount Dungannon.
Prot. Boyle, Viscount Dungarvan.
Prot. Berkley, Viscount Fitzharding of Beerhaven.
Prot. Caulfield, Viscount Charlemont.
Prot. Wingfield, Viscount Powerscourt.
Prot. Boyle, Viscount Blessington.
Prot. Lane, Viscount Lanesborough.
Prot. Dawny, Viscount Down.
Prot. Parsons, Viscount Ross. Sat.
Prot. Steward, Viscount Mountjoy.
Prot. Loftus, Viscount Lisburn.
Cath. Burke, Viscount Galway. Sat.

Cath. Macarty, Viscount Mountcashel. Sat, new created.

Cath. Chivers, Viscount Mount-Leinster, new created.

Cath. Brown, Viscount Kenmare. Sat, new created.

BISHOPS.

Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath. Sat.

William Moreton, Bishop of Kildare.

Hugh Gore, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.

Vacant——Bishop of Clonfert.

Vacant——Bishop of Clogher.

Thomas Otway, Bishop of Ossory and Kilkenny. Sat.

Ezekiel Hopkins, Bishop of Derry.

Thomas Hacket, Bishop of Down and Connor.

John Rowan, Bishop of Killaloe.

Edward Whittenhal, Bishop of Cork and Ross. Sat.

Simon Digby, Bishop of Limerick and Ardfert. Sat.

Richard Tennison, Bishop of Killala and Archonry.

William Smith, Bishop of Raphoe.

William Sheridan, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.

Narcissus Marsh, Bishop of Fernes and Laughlin.

Edward Jones, Bishop of Cloyne.

Capel Wiseman, Bishop of Dromore.

Vacant——Bishop of Elphin.

BARONS.

Cath. Bermingham, Baron of Athenry. Sat, attainted.

Cath. Courcy, Baron of Kinsale. Sat, (a convert.)

Prot. Fitzmorris, Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw

Cath. Fleming, Baron of Slane. Sat, attainted.

Prot. St Lawrence, Baron of Howth. Sat.

Cath. Barnwall, Baron of Trimblestown. Sat, attainted.

Cath. Plunket, Baron of Dunsany. Sat, attainted.

Cath. Butler, Baron of Dunboyne. Sat, attainted.

Cath. Fitzpatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory. Sat.

Cath. Plunket, Baron of Lowth. Attainted.

Cath. Burke, Baron of Castleconnel. Sat, attainted.

Cath. Butler, Baron of Cahir. Sat, attainted.

Cath. Burke, Baron of Brittas. Sat, attainted.

- Prot. Foliot, Baron of Ballyshannon.
 Prot. Maynard, Baron of Wicklow.
 Prot. Gorge, Baron of Dundalk.
 Prot. Digby, Baron of Gaisehil.
 Prot. Fitzwilliam, Baron of Lifford.
 Prot. Blaney, Baron of Monaghan.
 ——— Malowne, Baron of Glenmalum and Courchy.
 Prot. Herbert, Baron of Castle Island.
 Cath. Calvert, Baron of Baltimore.
 Prot. Brereton, Baron of Laughlin.
 Prot. Hare, Baron of Colerain.
 Prot. Sherard, Baron of Leitrim.
 Cath. MacGuire, Baron of Enniskillen. (Sat, attainted in
 Ireland; but the Lord his Uncle attainted in Eng-
 land.)
 Cath. Hamilton, Baron of Strabane. Sat.
 Prot. Hawley, Baron of Dunamore.
 Prot. Allington, Baron of Killard.
 Prot. King, Baron of Kingston.
 Prot. Barry, Baron of Santry.
 Prot. Annesly, Baron of Altham.
 Cath. Bellew, Baron of Duleek. Sat.
 Prot. Petty, Baron of Shelburn.
 Prot. Fitton, Baron of Gausworth. Sat, new created.
 Cath. Burke, Baron of Bophin. Sat, new created.
 Cath. Nugent, Baron of Riverston. Sat, new created.

*The Names of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, re-
 turned to the Parliament, beginning the 7th of May,
 1689.*

County Armagh—Arthur Brownloe and Walter Hovendon,
 Esqrs.

Burgh, Armagh—Francis Stophard and Constantine O'Neil,
 Esqrs. 16th May, 1689.

Bur.—Charlemont.

- Com. Antrim—Carmick O'Neil and Randle MacDonnel, Esqrs.
Bur.—Carrickfergus.
Bur. Belfast—Mark Talbot, Esq.
Bur. Lisburn—Daniel O'Neil, Esq. 20th May, 1689.
Bur. Antrim.
Com. Catherlogh—Dudley Bagnal and Henry Lutterel, Esqrs.
Bur. Cloghnerkilty—Lieut.-Col. Owen MacCarty and Daniel Fyn MacCarty, Esq.
Bur. Catherlogh—Mark Baggot and John Warren, Esqrs.
Bur. Old Laughlin—Darby Long and Daniel Doran, Esqrs.
Com. Cork—Justin MacCarty, Esq. and Sir Richard Nagle, Knights.
Town of Youghall—Thomas Uniack and Edward Gough, Aldermen.
Town of Kingsale—Andrew Murrough and Myles De Courcy, Esqrs.
Bur. Baltimore—Daniel O'Donavan and Jeremiah O'Donavan, Esqrs.
Bur. Bandonbridge—Charles MacCarty of Bulloa, and Daniel MacCarty of Reagh, Esqrs.
Bur. Middletown—Dermot Long and John Logan, Esqrs.
Bur. Moyallow—John Barret of Castlemore, and David Nagle of Carrigoone, Esqrs.
Manor and Borough of Rathcormuck—James Barry and Edward Powell, Esqrs.
Manor of Donerail—Donell O'Donavan, and John Baggot, jun. of Baggotstown, Esqrs.
Bur. Charleville—John Baggot of Baggotstown, sen. and John Power of Kilbelone, Esqrs.
City of Cork—Sir James Cotter, Knight, and John Galway, Esq.
Com. Cavan—Phil. Reyley of Aghnicrery, and John Reyley of Garyrobock, Esqrs.
Bur. Cavan—Phil. Oge O'Reyley, and Hugh Reyley of Larha, Esqrs.
Bur. Belturbet—Sir Edward Tyrrel, Baronet, and ——— Tuit of Newcastle, Esqrs.
Com. Clare—David O'Brien, and John MacNamara of Crattelagh, Esqrs.

- Bur. Ennis—Florence MacCarty of Dromad, and Theob. Butler of Szathnogalloon, Esqrs. 10th May 1689.
- Com. Down—Murtagh Magennis of Greencastle, and Ever Magennis of Castlewellan, Esqrs.
- Bur. Hilsburrow.
- Bur. Newry—Rowland White and Rowland Savage, Esqrs.
- Bur. Bangor.
- Bur. Keleleagh—Bernard Magennis of Balligorionbeg, Esq. and Tool O'Neil of Dromankelly, gent.
- Bur. Down.
- New-Town.
- Com. Dublin—Simon Lutterel of Lutterelstown and Patrick Sarsfield, jun. of Ducan, Esqrs.
- Bur. Swords—Francis Barnwell of Woodpark, County Meath, and Robert Russel of Dryham, Esqrs.
- Bur. Newcastle—Thomas Arthur of Colganstown, and John Talbot of Belgard, Esqrs.
- City of Dublin—Sir Michael Creagh, knight, and Terence Dermot, sen. alderman.
- College of Dublin—Sir John Mead, knight, and Jos. Coghlan, Esqrs.
- Town of Drogheda—Henry Dowdal, Esq. recorder, and Alderman Christoph. Peppard FitzGeorge.
- Com. Donegal.
- Lifford.
- Ballyshannon.
- Killibegs.
- Donegal.
- St John's-town—Sir William Ellis, knight, and Lieut.-Col. James Nugent.
- Com. Galway—Sir Ulick Burke and Sir Walter Blake, baronets.
- Bur. Athunree—James Talbot of Mount Talbot, and Charles Daly of Dunsandale, Esqrs.
- Bur. Tuam—James Lally of Tullendaly, and William Burke of Carrowford, Esqrs.
- Town of Galway—Oliver Martin and John Kirwan, Esqrs.
- Com. Kilkenny—John Grace of Courts-town, and Robert Walsh of Clooneshy, Esqrs.
- Bur. Callaim—Walter Butler and Thady Meagher, Esqrs.

- Bur. Thomas-Town—Robert Grace, sen. and Robert Grace, jun.
- Bur. Gowran—Richard Butler, Esq. and Walter Keily, Doctor of Physic.
- Col. Robert Fielding, by a new election.
- Bur. Inishog—Edward Fitzgerald and James Bolger, Esqrs.
- Bur. Knocktopher—Harvey Morris and Henry Meagh, Esqrs.
- City of Kilkenny—John Rooth, Esq. Mayor, and James Bryan, Alderman, 4th May, 1689.
- Bur. Kells—Patrick Everard and John Delamere, Esqrs.
- Bur. St Canice.
- Com. Kildare—John Wogan and George Aytmer, Esqrs.
- Bur. Nass—Walter, Lord Dungan, and Charles White, Esq.
- Bur. Athy—William Fitzgerald and William Archbold, Esqrs.
- Bur. Harristown—James Nigel and Edmund Fitzgerald, Esqrs.
- Bur. Kildare—Francis Leigh and Robert Porter, Esqrs.
- King's County—Heward Oxborough and Owen Kerrel, Esqrs.
- Bur. Philipstown—John Connor and Heward Oxborough, Esqrs.
- Bur. Banagher—Terence Coghlan and Terence Coghlan, Esqrs.
- Bur. Birr.
- Com. Kerry—Nicholas Brown, Esq.' and Sir Thomas Crosby, knight.
- Bur. Tralee—Morrice Hussey of Kerries and John Brown of Ardagh, Esqrs.
- Bur. Dingle Icouch—Edward Rice FitzJames of Ballinleggin, Com. Lym. and John Hussey, Esqrs.
- Bur. Ardfert—Col. Roger MacElligott and Cornelius Mac-Gillicuddy, Esq.
- Com. Longford—Roger Farrell and Robert Farrell, Esqrs.
- Bur. Lanesborough—Oliver Fitzgerald and Roger Farrell, Esqrs.
- Town of Longford.
- Com. Lowth—Thomas Bellew and William Talbot, Esqrs.
- Bur. Atherdee—Hugh Gernon and John Babe, Esqrs.
- Bur. Dundalk—Robert Dermot and John Dowdall, Esqrs.
- Bur. Carlingford—Christopher Peppard FitzIgnatius and Bryan Dermod, Esqrs.
- Dunlear.
- Com. Limerick—Sir John Fitzgerald, baronet, and Gerald Fitzgerald, Esq. commonly called Knight of the Glynn.

Bur. Kilmallock—Sir William Harley, baronet, and John Lacy, Esq.

Bur. Askeaton—John Burke of Carrickinohil and Edward Rice, Esqrs.

City of Limerick—Nicholas Arthur and Thomas Harrold, Aldermen.

Com. Leitrim—Edmund Reynolds and Irrel Farrell, Esqrs.

Bur. James-town—Alexander MacDonnell, Esq. and William Shanley, 15th May 1689.

Carrickdrumrusk.

Com. Mayo—Garret Moore and Walter Burke, Esqrs.

Castlebar—John Bermingham, Portreeve, and Thomas Burke, Esqrs.

Com. Meath—Sir William Talbot and Sir Patrick Barnwell.

Bur. Ratoath—John Hussey and James Fitzgerald, Esqrs.

Bur. Trim—Capt. Nicholas Cusack and Walter Nangle, Esqrs.

Bur. Navan—Christopher Cusack of Corballis, and Christopher Cusack of Ratholdran, Esqrs.

Bur. Athboy—John Trinder and Robert Longfield, Esqrs.

Duleek.

Kells.

Com. Monaghan—Bryan MacMahon and Hugh MacMahon, Esqrs. 9th July 1689.

Town of Monaghan.

Com. Fermanagh.

Enniskillen.

Queen's county—Sir Patrick Trant, knight, and Edward Morris, Esq.

Bur. Maryborough—Peirce Bryan and Thady Fitzpatrick, Esq.

Bur. Ballinakill, Sir George Bourne, baronet, and Oliver Grace, Esq.

Portarlinton—Sir Henry Bond, baronet, and Sir — Hacket, knight.

Com. Roscommon—Charles Kelly and John Burke, Esqrs.

Bur. Roscommon—John Dillon and John Kelly, Esqrs.

Bur. Boyle—Captain John King and Terence MacDermot, aldermen, 6th May 1689.

Tulske.

Com. Sligo—Henry Crofton and Oliver O'Gara, Esqrs.

Bur. Sligo—Terence MacDonagh and James French, Esqrs.

Com. Tipperary—Nicholas Purcel of Loghmore, and James Butler of Grangebeg, Esqrs.

City of Cashel—Dennis Kearney and James Hacket, aldermen.

Bur. Clonmell—Nicholas White and John Bray, aldermen.

Bur. Fethard—Sir John Everard, baronet, and James Tobin of Fethard, Esq.

Bur. Thurles.

Bur. Tipperary.

Com. Tyrone—Col. Gordon O'Neil, and Lewis Doe of Dungannon, Esq.

Bur. Dungannon—Arthur O'Neil of Ballygawly, and Patrick Donnelly of Dungannon, Esqrs.

Bur. Strabane—Christopher Nugent of Dublin, Esq. and Daniel O'Donnelly of the same, gent. 8th May 1689.

Clogher.

Augher.

Com. Waterford—John Power and Matthew Hore, Esqrs.

Bur. Dungarvan—John Hore and Martin Hore, Esqrs. 7th of May 1689.

City of Waterford—John Porter and Nicholas Fitzgerald, Esqrs.

Bur. Lismore.

Tallow.

Com. Wexford—Walter Butler of Munfine, and Patrick Colclough of Mounirry.

Bur. Wexford—William Talbot, Esq. and Francis Rooth, merchant.

Bur. New Ross—Luke Dormer and Richard Butler, Esqrs.

Bur. Bannow—Francis Plowden, Esq. Commissioner of the Revenue, and Dr Alexius Stafford.

Bur. Newborough—Abraham Strange of Tobberduff, Esq. and Richard Dally of Kilcorky, gent.

Bur. Enniscorthy—James Devereux of Carrigmenan, and Dudley Colclough of Moughery, Esqrs. Arthur Waddington, Esq. by a new Election.

Bur. Taghmon—George Hore of Polhore, and Walter Hore of Herperstown, Esqrs.

Bur. Cloghmyne—Edward Sherlock of Dublin, Esq. and Nicholas White of New Ross, merchant.

- Bur. Arklow.
Fytherd—Colonel James Porter, and Capt. Nicholas Stafford.
Com. Wicklow—Richard Butler, and William Talbot, Esqrs.
Bur. Caryesfort—Hugh Bryne, Esq. and Pierce Archbold, Esq.
upon whose default of appearance ——— Barth. Polewheele.
Bur. Wicklow—Francis Toole and Thomas Byrne, Esqrs.
Bur. Blessington—James Eustace, Esq. and Maurice Eustace,
gent.
Baltinglass.
Com. Westmeath—Hon. Col. William Nugent, and Hon. Col.
Henry Dillon.
Bur. and Manor of Mullingar—Garret Dillon, Esq. Prime
Sergeant, and Edmund Nugent of Garlanstown, Esq.
Bur. Athlone—Edmund Malone of Ballynehown, Esq. and
Edmund Malone, Esq. Counsellor at Law.
Bur. Kilbeggan—Bryan Geoghegan of Donore, and Charles
Geoghegan of Syenan, Esqrs.
Bur. Fore—John Nugent of Donore, and Christopher Nugent
of Dardistown, Esqrs.
Com. Londonderry.
City of Londonderry.
Bur. Coleraine.
Bur. Lamavudy.

1871

James A. Smith, Esq., and others, Plaintiffs,
vs.
The Trustees of the University of the State of New York,
Defendants.

Com. Pleas, Term of Court, 1871, and Term of Court, 1872.

James A. Smith, Esq., and others, Plaintiffs, vs. The Trustees of the University of the State of New York, Defendants.

James A. Smith, Esq., and others, Plaintiffs, vs. The Trustees of the University of the State of New York, Defendants.

James A. Smith, Esq., and others, Plaintiffs, vs. The Trustees of the University of the State of New York, Defendants.

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James A. Smith, Esq., and others, Plaintiffs, vs. The Trustees of the University of the State of New York, Defendants.

Lawless, John,

A compendium of the history of Ireland from the earliest period to the
reign of George I

Bd.: 2

Glasgow 1823

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